National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Selections.

REPLY

TO 'A PORTION OF THE CITIZENS' OF NEWBERN, IN COUNCIL.

To M. A. OUTTEN, Chairman, WM. G. BRYAN, Secretary, and the GENTLEMEN comprising the meeting held in the Court-House, in Newbern, North Carolina, Sept. 1851, and their sympathizers.

GENTLEMEN—I have the honour to acknowledge that I am not in the receipt of 'a copy of the proceedings' of your meeting furnished me by your 'Secretary.' Either he has failed to comply with the vote of the meeting, as published in your papers, or it has been miscarried. It may be he could not get it *lightered* over the SWASH. At any rate, my notice of it has been delayed already, in consequence of its not coming to hand, quite too long. But having received from an unknown hand the *Republican and Patriot*, printed in Goldsboro', in your State, September 25th, last past, in which I find what purports to be said proceedings, I take it for granted that it is correct, as this appears to be one of the papers requested to publish the same, to wit:

MEETING OF THE CITIZENS OF NEWBERN.

It being made known to the citizens of the town of Newbern, that a vessel, the property of Rodney French, of Massachusetts, had arrived at our port, soliciting employment; a portion of the citizens of the town assembled in public meeting at the Court house, on the 17th instant—

When Matthew W. Outten was called to the Chair, and Wm. G. Bryan appointed Secretary. After the meeting was organized, the following preamble and resolutions were reported, read, and unanimously adopted:

Whereas, in the late attempts to reclaim fugitive slaves in the State of Massachusetts, which slaves had escaped from their lawful owners in the Southern States, Rodney French, a citizen of the town of New Bedford, in the aforesaid State of Massachusetts, was foremost in the lead of the opposition to the execution of the law under which said slaves were claimed to be restored to their owners, and the said Rodney French did, by his acts and public speeches, endeavour to influence and excite the abolition party of his town to resist the execution of the laws of the United States, and in said speeches he called on the fugitive slaves and free negroes to arm themselves, and prevent the taking away runaway slaves; and whereas, the said Rodney French has a vessel now in our port soliciting Southern men for employment: and, in view of these facts, be it

Resolved, That we, the citizens of the town of Newbern, in public meeting assembled, do pledge ourselves to give the said French no support, no aid, no employment, whereby he may receive one *cent* from us, a portion of the people of the South, of whom he has been so liberal in his abuse; and further, that all our exertions shall be used with our fellow-citizens to influence them from patronising the said vessel, so that she shall go away without a barrel of freight.

Resolved, That the masters and owners of lighters be requested not to lighter said vessel over the Swash.

Resolved, That the Intendant be requested to have the said vessel searched, and place a watch over her until she leaves the port.

Resolved, That our sister towns in the State be requested not to employ said vessel or any other owned by said French, nor countenance any individual connected with said French in any way whatever.

Resolved, That to that portion of the North who have manifested a disposition to carry out in good faith the Fugitive Slave Law, we extend the hand of fellowship, and we shall always greet them with a hearty welcome.

Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to send a copy of these proceedings to said Rodney French.

Resolved, That *The Newbernian, North State Whig, Republican and Patriot*, and Wilmington papers, be requested to publish these proceedings.

M. A. OUTTEN, *Chairman.*

WM. G. BRYAN, *Secretary.*

The vessel in question was not in your harbour by any orders of mine. She was ordered to Bay River and vicinity for a cargo of lumber, contracted for by me, which, on her arrival there, owing to heavy rains, was not quite ready. Captain Pratt being one of the owners of the vessel, upon his 'own mere motion,' concluded in the mean time to go to your place, and take a freight to New York.

I became interested in the vessel with Capt. Pratt, after the loss of his schooner, the CAROLINA, for the purpose of giving him business and getting my timber, &c., to market. Not foreseeing, no, nor even conjecturing, that she would ever disturb the equanimity of 'a portion of the citizens of the town' of Newbern, by 'SOLICITING SOUTHERN MEN FOR EMPLOYMENT.'

To me, however, this is no new thing. I have received similar treatment before, and bore it cheerfully. In New England—in Massachusetts; yes, in the city of New Bedford, I have been proscribed for opinion sake, and compelled by a sense of duty to others, to dissolve with my partner in business. I am getting accustomed to these things. As the boy said of the eels, 'It don't hurt them at all to skin them, after they get used to it.' So it is with me. Being so accustomed to such treatment, it produces no pain whatever.

He (my partner) was told by those who had the power—commercial as well as political—'Dissolve with French, and we will extend the hand of fellowship' commercially; but if you do not, we will give you 'no support, no aid no employment,' whereby you 'may receive one *cent* from us.' In less than ten minutes after his desire to separate was announced to me, a dissolution was decided upon, and before the sun set in the west again, my relation to the concern terminated. In this case, I shall be as prompt as the circumstances will admit. That Captain Pratt and others may not suffer, I shall dispose of my interest in the vessel to him, or some of his friends, on her arrival—*no matter the sacrifice*; and my business in your State will be closed forthwith.

Why all this? What have I done to bring down in such haste, after the arrival of the A. in your waters, the indignation of 'A PORTION OF the citizens of the town' of Newbern?

In the first place, you say, 'Whereas, in the late attempts to reclaim fugitive *slaves* in the State of Massachusetts, which *slaves* had escaped from their LAWFUL OWNERS of the Southern States, Rodney French * * * was foremost in the lead of the opposition to the execution of the *law* under which *slaves* were claimed to be returned to their owners.' The high distinction you award to me here will be disputed by others, therefore I must decline it. On most occasions where my sympathies have been enlisted, I have been content to fill some humble place in the ranks, rather than aspire to be '*foremost in the lead.*'

But, gentlemen, are you sure that your premises are correct in another regard? You speak of slaves who had 'escaped from their lawful owners.' I was not aware that there was a slave upon this continent who had escaped from his '*lawful*' *owner*. Is it not impossible for one man to be the lawful property of another, in this 'LAND OF THE FREE AND HOME OF THE BRAVE,' under the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of these United States? The former of which declares, 'that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.' And the latter declares, that it was adopted to "establish JUSTICE, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of LIBERTY to ourselves and our posterity."

Talk about one man being the lawful owner of another man, under such circumstances! Is it not preposterous? Besides, I have yet to learn that you have any laws upon your statute-books making any class of *persons* SLAVES. We have been told by high authority that you have none.

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, in his place in the Senate of the United States, a short time since, told the Senate, the country, and the WORLD, that to his knowledge there were no laws in the slaveholding States making any class of PERSONS, SLAVES. How, then, can a lawful claim be established by one man to the bones and muscles, body and soul (as it were) of another man?

We have been taught, at the NORTH, and most of us believe it to be true, that the three millions of human beings, 'made in the image of GOD, but a little lower than the ANGELS,' that you assume have lawful owners down South, are held in a relentless, cruel, inhuman and unjust bondage, '*ONE HOUR of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which our fathers rose in* REBELLION TO OPPOSE'; and that those who assume to be their masters work them without pay, and sell them at pleasure—have no more right to do so than the slaves would have, could they obtain the power, to make slaves of their present masters—work them without compensation, and sell them upon the auction-block to the highest bidder.

It is not by virtue of JUSTICE, of RIGHT, or of LAW, then, but by virtue of Power, which enables men to assume the relation of 'lawful owners'; which power, sooner or later, will certainly cease to occupy its present seat, unless God ceases to be just. We have long ago been told by a distinguished Southron, '*There is no attribute of the* ALMIGHTY, *that can possibly take sides with* SLAVERY'; and, in view of the enormity of the system, 'I tremble for my COUNTRY when I reflect that GOD is JUST.'

Gentlemen, we hold, or rather most of us, this way, that there is not a slave in his chains down South, who has not a right to his immediate, unconditional liberty. Who can successfully deny this?

Why, gentlemen, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of this Commonwealth, at a public dinner table, soon after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, when that was the uppermost topic of conversation, remarked (in substance and nearly verbatim) as follows: 'There is not a slave upon a Southern plantation, who has not a perfect, God-given right to demand his immediate liberty of his master at any moment, and if it is denied him, to take it over all opposition, at any expense of blood or life.'

When our Chief Justices put forth sentiments like these, you must not be surprised if they are quite universal.

Do such men often get in advance of public sentiment upon such questions?

You say I have endeavoured to 'influence the abolition party' of this city 'to resist the execution of the law of the *United States*'.

Suppose, for the sake of the argument, that it were so (which, by the way, is not admitted, and you produce no proof), did any but tyrants and traitors to humanity and liberty impose that law upon us? And is not 'resistance to tyrants obedience to God'? Are men to be blamed for acting in obedience to God?

This (so-called) Fugitive Slave Law, what is it, that I am call upon to obey it, and assist in its execution?

It is the most disgraceful, atrocious, unjust, detestable, heathenish, barbarous, diabolical, tyrannical, man-degrading, woman-murdering, demon-pleasing, heaven-defying act ever perpetrated in any age of the world by persons claiming to have consciences and a belief in a just God. In one word, it is the '*sum of all* VILLAINIES.'

How came it upon the statute-books of this nation? It was put there, not by the will of the people, but it found its way there through the instrumentality of the darkest, yes, the blackest and wickedest treachery to professions, principles, constituencies, humanity, LIBERTY and *Independence*, since Judas betrayed his Master; or even since the morning stars sang together.

But for Daniel Webster's 7th of March speech, the 'Omnibus Committee' never would have been conceived. Without his vote, it never would have been born. All had voted but that ARCH TRAITOR, and it lacked one vote to give it life. His name was called once, and no response. Again, and no reply; when a number of Southern gentlemen, to whom he had undoubtedly pledged himself, repaired to his seat, as I am credibly informed, and one of them addressed him thus: 'Mr. Webster, don't let your courage ooze out at your fingers' ends; come up like a man, vote to raise the committee, and redeem your pledge.' There was undoubtedly a mighty struggle between the 'GOD-LIKE' and DEMON-LIKE going on in the mind of the great expounder, at that time, the latter of which finally prevailed. His name was called a third time and he got out a faint 'Yes'! The work was done. His constituents, his country, humanity, 'God and Liberty' betrayed! Judas, it is said, actually received thirty pieces of silver for his treachery; Mr. Webster, only the promise of thirty States to preside over, if he could cheat them into the arrangement.

Had there been half as much of the divine spirit about him (and perhaps less spirits in him), as there was in Judas Iscariot, he would, upon reflection, have gone out of the Senate chamber, and shared the same, or a similar fate. But, no, his treachery was of the *Arnold type*, doomed to have the finger of scorn pointed at him up and down the earth.

He has his reward. Shut out of Faneuil Hall, the ancient CRADLE of LIBERTY, until its 'doors turn upon golden hinges'—repudiated by the Massachusetts Whig State Convention, as a candidate for the Presidency, and compelled to fall back upon his sub. scription list, for that high distinction. And then, how about his Southern friends, who promised him their support, if he would turn his back upon the North? How is he rewarded in that quarter? As Arnold was in Great Britain, 'They love the treason, but despise the traitor.' They can't trust him. Are the Southern presses out for Mr. W. for the Presidency? The only allusion to him from that quarter that I have seen, of late, was from a paper whose editor discourses thus: 'I wish it distinctly understood that Daniel Webster is not on my list of candidates for the Presidency, neither as my first choice—as an available, or a last resort.'

You may think I attach too much importance to the influence of one man in this transaction. But let me ask you, had the great 'expounder' in his 7th of March speech ranged himself on the side of freedom, instead of Slavery, and declared in his place what he had enunciated upon Massachusetts soil, and elsewhere, viz: 'The Wilmot Proviso is my thunder—The Whig party is the only true *free soil* party—No more SLAVE REPRESENTATION in CONGRESS—No more SLAVE STATES—NOT ANOTHER INCH OF SLAVE TERRITORY,' would the Omnibus Committee ever have been conceived?

Again, had he, on that occasion, presented the following extracts from the Resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts, passed in 1838, 1847, 1849, and 1850, to wit:

'Congress ought to take measures to effect the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY in the DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. Congress has by the Constitution power to abolish Slavery in the territories.—Congress has by the Constitution power to *abolish* the *traffic* in SLAVES BETWEEN DIFFERENT STATES of the UNION,—That the exercise of this power is demanded by the principles of HUMANITY and JUSTICE,—That the Legislature of Massachusetts views the existence of HUMAN SLAVERY within the limits of the United States, as a great calamity and an immense moral and political evil which ought to be abolished,—that its extension should be uniformly and earnestly opposed by all good and patriotic men throughout the Union; Congress has full power to legislate upon the subject of Slavery in the territories, and that it is the duty of Congress to exercise the power for the perpetual exclusion of the institution from the territories that are free, and for the extinction of the same in territories where it exists. The people of the State of Massachusetts, acting under a solemn sense of duty, have deliberately and repeatedly expressed their purpose, to resist the extension of Slavery into the national territories, or the admission of new slave States into the Union, and for these ends to apply, in every practicable mode, the principles of the ordinance of 1787; also to seek the abolition of Slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and the withdrawal of the power and influence of the general Government from the support of Slavery, as far as the same may be constitutionally done; and

Whereas, The important questions before the country make it desirable that these convictions should be reaffirmed; therefore,

Resolved, That the people of Massachusetts earnestly insist upon the application by Congress of the ordinance of 1787, with all possible sanctions and solemnities of law, to the territorial possessions of the Union, in all parts of the continent for all coming time. It is the duty of Congress to pass such laws only in regard to the delivering up of fugitive slaves, as will be sustained by the public sentiment of the FREE STATES, where such laws are to be enforced, and which shall especially secure to all persons claimed as fugitives from labour or service, the right of having the validity of such claim determined by a jury in the State where such claim is made.'

Then, had Mr. W. added, these are the sentiments of my constituents—of the free North—they are my sentiments, and the sentiments of my Hon. colleague upon this floor—we are pledged to maintain them by the acceptance of the trusts reposed in us by the people of Massachusetts, 'NOW AND FOREVER,' would the Omnibus Committee ever have been born, or the aforesaid Fugitive Slave Law disgraced the statute book of this republic? No, verily! But Mr. Webster being promised Southern support for the Presidency, CAVED IN, and with him an army of Northern 'doughfaces,' who were to be rewarded with offices for themselves or their friends, under this and Mr. Webster's contemplated administration.

A law put upon our statute books, under these circumstances, is a law 'not fit to be made'—'not fit' to be obeyed or executed by any one. It should be EXPUNGED. 'It was conceived in sin, and brought forth in iniquity.'

It is wholly unconstitutional. There is nothing in the Constitution of the United States conferring the least authority upon Congress to pass such an act, or rather such a BILL OF ABOMINATIONS.

This was Hon. John C. Calhoun's view of the subject. Also that of Hon. Mr. Rhett, his successor, who, when the SHADRACH affair was before the Senate, said in his place:

'This government has it not in its power to enforce this law, so as to make it efficacious. I believe that by the action of the States, and the States *alone*, the rights of the South can be maintained and entorced.' Again, he says, 'the delivery of a fugitive from labour is an affair between two States. The fugitive is to be delivered up. To be delivered up, he must be seized. He must be in the possession of those who are to deliver him up. No authority within a State can seize a criminal against the laws of another State, but the authority of the State itself to which he has fled. This is the law of nations. Look at the Constitution. Is there one word in it referring to fugitive criminals and fugitive slaves, conferring any power on Congress to legislate upon these subjects? No power whatever is given to Congress. Congress is not even mentioned in that connection. What is the inevitable inference? Why, that *Congress has no such power.*'

The same opinion is entertained by eminent civilians, jurists and statesmen, the country over. It was the opinion of Shadrach, and Jerry, now residents in Canada. Of William Wells Brown, Henry *Box* Brown, and William and Ellen Crafts, who attended the World's Fair at the Crystal Palace, and who are now travelling in England. Of the citizens of Christiana, and also of Syracuse, not even excepting the military, notwithstanding the late 'Prophecy of Daniel.'

This being the view I take of this aforesaid Fugitive Slave Law, I certainly shall not obey it, or assist in its execution, come what may. I shall do what in me lies to have it repealed or expunged.

God forbid that any panting fugitive from the prison-house of bondage should ever tap at my door and be turned away empty. No matter how close upon his heels are his pursuers.

I prefer to have my lot cast with that proscribed and persecuted class, rather than enjoy the 'employment,' 'for a season,' of those who can only 'extend the hand of friendship' upon condition that I assist them in 'carrying out, in good faith, the Fugitive Slave Law.'

You are pleased to prefer another charge, viz: that in my 'public speeches,' I have 'called on the fugitive slaves and free negroes to arm themselves, and prevent the taking away runaway slaves.'

This, as well as all your other charges, is unsupported by a particle of evidence, and is without foundation and truth. The fugitive slaves and free negroes here, needed no word of mine to excite them to resist 'the taking away runaway slaves.' One of our Judges of the Court of Common Pleas said to a fugitive who asked him for money to enable him to go to Canada. No! Not a dollar: but if you want a 'six-barrel Pistol' to defend your liberty on Massachusetts soil, and will promise to use it if necessary, I will give it to you, and any other arms you may require. The mere mention, in the papers, of the passage of that law was enough to 'excite' them to arm themselves with as fixed a determination as Jackson prepared to resist the British at New Orleans, and in the estimation of many of our citizens in quite as commendable and praiseworthy a cause. They remembered the words of the wise man in the 24th of Proverbs, 10th, 11th and 12th verses: 'If thou faint in the day of adversity, thy strength is small. If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death; and those that are ready to be slain, if thou slayest, Behold, we knew it not: doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth not he know it? and shall not he render to every man according to his works?'

This I have said in public and private, and I repeat it, were I a fugitive from a Southern plantation, a tall dark-complexioned coloured man, if you please—had I escaped to a free State—should I be pursued by any one claiming me as a slave with a view of taking me back to bondage by authority of the Fugitive Slave Law: the first man that approached me for that purpose, I would shoot down, if in my power, and as many of his posse as seemed necessary to escape their grasp. And this, gentlemen, is no more or less than you would do under similar circumstances. I know you well. I know you would. 'If this be treason, make the most of it.' Who dares to affirm that it would be wrong? Let him that can, stand up and show why.

It seems that you have pledged yourselves to 'give the said Rodney no support, no employment,' &c.

Once upon a time, a certain wealthy house (which shall be nameless on this occasion) had a ship-master in its employ, who made the shortest voyages and the most money for the house of any captain in their service. However, he turned an honest penny to good account for himself also, which came to be viewed by his employers with some dissatisfaction. At the completion and settlement of a very successful voyage, the captain's share amounted to so much that the partners consulted together, and decided to discharge him. Accordingly the senior partner said to him: 'Well, captain, we have no more employ for you.' 'Very well, gentlemen' (was the reply), 'I don't thank you for your employ; I am able to employ myself.'

Have you not gone a little out of your way, and interfered with business not exactly your own, by making an effort to prevent 'masters and owners of lighters from lightering said schooner OVER THE SWASH'?

Now I submit whether this does not exhibit a spirit far from creditable to high-minded and honourable gentlemen? But let me assure you, that whether the vessel gets lightered 'OVER THE SWASH' or not, I shall be quite as reluctant to assist in carrying back to bondage those that have escaped from the South, and shall not be withheld in the least in any efforts I may be able to put forth in behalf of the down-trodden and the oppressed. Or even if you had *burned* her to ashes in your habour (as I learn from a private source you threatened to do), it would not have been a very convincing argument that I ought to 'conquer my prejudices' and assist with 'alacrity' in the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law; although a perfectly conclusive one, I grant you, against the said vessel ever again '*soliciting Southern men for employment.*"

You go one step further (and there is, it is said, 'but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous'), and endeavour to influence your 'sister towns' not to employ any vessels of mine, 'nor countenance any individual connected with' me 'in any way whatever.' This might be viewed by some of more limited experience in this line, as adding insult to injury. But, gentlemen, I take no exceptions at any thing you have been pleased to say or do in the premises. 'Those whom the gods design to destroy, they first make mad.' You have high authority for this part of your proceedings. It has long since been laid down as a rule, by slaveholders and 'Northern Doughfaces' in the U. S. Senate, that no man should be confirmed by that august body, to any office in the gift of the Executive (with now and then an exception), who was not on the Southern side of the Slavery question: or whose political associates were inimical to the 'peculiar institution,' or, in other words, who had not an exalted opinion of 'UNENLIGHTENED LABOUR.' And while the compromise, so called, was in contemplation, and under discussion, all the important executive nominations to offices in the free States were laid upon the shelf, and it was promulgated unblushingly, in substance, in the House and Senate, that none can have office from the 'WHITE HOUSE,' no, nor their political friends either, who dare to vote against the 'chivalry of the South' in this respect. Still, I do not despair of my country, 'however bounded.' It will not always be so, in that branch of our government. The Granite, Empire, and I am happy to add the 'Old Bay State' also, will be represented there next session by *three men* at least, who will not fear the face of CLAY; but will stand up boldly for Freedom. 'A three fold cord is not quickly broken.' In view of these things, I feel very much as Paul did when he came in sight of the Three Taverns: 'he thanked God, and took courage.'

I have had commercial relations with the citizens of your State for the last thirty years. Have met every contract and paid every demand. Have carried, and caused to be invested in your State, hundreds and hundreds of thousands of dollars, for your lands, the products of your soil, your industry, and your forests. In my possession is a large amount of unredeemed paper against your citizens, taken for property I have parted with, that they have enjoyed. Still, rather than be classed with 'that portion of the NORTH who have manifested a disposition to carry out in good faith the Fugitive Slave Law,' to whom only 'the hand of fellowship and **** hearty welcome' can be extended, by those who make merchandise of men, women, and children, that God made our EQUAL BRETHREN, and endowed with the '*inalienable right*' of LIBERTY *and the pursuit of* 'HAPPINESS,' and for whose *redemption* CHRIST DIED, I am ready to suffer any *pecuniary loss* in your *power to impose*, any *ostracism* TYRANNY CAN INVENT, any PENALTY this SLAVE-CATCHING GOVERNMENT can INFLICT.

In conclusion, permit me to commend to your consideration the language that Abraham addressed to Lot: 'Let there be no strife; I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdsmen and thy herdsmen, for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right, or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left.'

Yours for the right,

RODNEY FRENCH.

New Bedford, October 20, 1851.

[Papers that have published the doings of the meeting at Newbern are respectfully requested to copy the above 'Reply.']—*New Bedford Standard.*

CHRONOLOGY, CHARACTER AND DEATH OF THE FIRST SLAVE-HUNTER.

In a world where things go so much by precedent, and often so little by equity, it is very important to know who was the first slave-hunter. That honour who shall claim? Illustrious parent of a noble line! His posterity ought to build and garnish his sepulcher, for they do according to the deeds of their father, and maintain now, in this six thousandth year, or less, of this our civilized world, the nobleness and grandeur of the pursuits of their antique progenitor.

But who was he? Can it be possible that we have any record of him? Is his character delineated in full? Was he a reverend and godly man, who went forth armed with bow and arrow, or were unerring rifles and revolving pistols then invented, and did he, girt with such thundering panoply, and at the head of a *posse comitatus* of heaven-ordained commissioners, come out against the fugitive as against a thief and a robber, assuring all men, by these presents, that he would have back his chattels, his property in bones and sinews and a human soul, at whatever cost, by whatever violence, even of death itself? Was he a virtuous, peaceful, heavenly-minded man, going straight to endless blessedness by the rule of keeping a conscience void of offence toward Cæsar, or did he walk by the rule of doing to others as he would have others do to him, or was he going to put in as a plea at the gate of heaven, in reference to some neglect or violation of the law of love, that doctors in theology, as also of the State, had assured him that the higher law of the Divine Holiness and Goodness must bow before the supreme law of safety to the republic, and that it must be expected that a thousand things contrary to the moral sense will be enacted, (see the last judicial charge to men's consciences on rescuing slaves), but that any and every law whatsoever, enacted by man, must at all hazards be obeyed?

Who was he? Who could he have been? Would it be possible for the old, old Remembrancer of the Fairy Queen, if he were yet alive, to tell us, with his infinite memory of all times and ages?

"This man of infinite remembrance was,
And things foregone through many ages held,
Which he recorded still as they did pass
Ne suffred them to perish through long eld
As all things else the which this world doth weld.
But laid them up in his immortal scrine,
Where they forever incorrupted dwell'd.
The wars he well remembered of King Ninus,
Of Old Assaracus, and Inachus divine.

"The years of Nestor nothing were to his
Ne yet Methusalem, thou longest lived,
For he remembered both their infancies.
Ne wonder then if that he were deprived
Of native strength, now that he them survived
His chamber all was hanged about with rolls
And old records from ancient times derived,
Some made in books, some in long parchment scrolls.
That were all worm-eaten, and full of canker holes."

Could this aged old man tell anything about it? Did the first slave-hunter live as far back as the wars of old Assaracus? or was he one of the great gawky Antediluvian men called giants, when the earth was corrupt before God? The same had children which became mighty men and men of renown, when the earth was filled with violence, but we read not yet of any fugitive slave law.

Well then, was it not Nimrod? Certainly Nimrod was a mighty hunter before the Lord, and he had a wide kingdom in the land of Shinar, but no account is given of any expedition after fugitives, nor is there any trace of treason-trials in his dominions for helping a poor wretch to escape. Besides, all the black men then in the world, or such as began to grow black under the African sun, if the race of Ham had any of them strayed so far toward the equator, were Nimrod's blood relatives: and it would have been uncouth in the highest degree for a king to be seen hunting his own cousins. So that, if then, as now, colour was in the question, and black men only, or of the African race, could be fugitive slaves, Nimrod himself being a slave-hunter is entirely *out* of the question. It could not have been he, neither was it Shem, nor Ham, nor Japheth, nor Nabal, nor Ahab, nor Saul. We read of this latter that he went up and down the kingdom from Dan to Beersheba, searching for his father's asses, but we never read either of Saul, or any of the lords, princes, captains, or mighty men of renown under him, going about on a hunt for fugitive slaves.

Who *could* it be? Who *was* the first slave-hunter? He must have been a remarkable man. Doubtless he was a very patriarch of benevolence and generosity, who went after his slaves on purpose to do them good, on purpose to rescue them from all the evils of cruelty, poverty, independence, and no one to care for their souls. He cared for them, good, kind man, and advertised that if they would come back, he would forgive the corn they had stolen. Doubtless he wished to preserve them from the tender mercies of a harder master. And as to his slaves, they must have been wicked persons indeed, to have ran away from so considerate and good a man. And he, on his part, whosoever he may be, deserves a mausoleum to his memory, for such a noble assertion and defence of human rights, above all, the right of property in human beings. And if he happened to die a martyr in the assertion and prosecution of that right, so much higher toward heaven should the mausoleum tower to his memory. Beyond question the Union Safety men of those days followed him to the grave with great lamentation, for certainly when he fell, one of the strongest safety-valves of the State was broken from its hinges.

But who *was* he? In the name of wonder, can we not make some approximation to his reality? Was it Pharaoh? Ah, no, there you are out again. Pharaoh was indeed a great slaveholder, for nearly all his subjects at one time were slaves; but his pursuit after the fugitive Hebrews was on rather too grand a scale to be brought down to a case of slave-hunting, such as we are now inquiring about. But it may be remarked in passing, that inasmuch as all that Pharaoh did was in perfect contempt and disregard of the higher law doctrine, and forasmuch as he lost his own life in endeavouring to cast off fanaticism and to work an emancipation from it, his respectable character, so much traduced, ought to rise to something like a religious veneration in the view of the lower-law men of this day and generation.

Well then, who *was* he? Reader, it was Shimei, the son of Gera! What? The man that cursed King David? Yes, the very same: the man that cursed King David, and cast stones at him; and all the people and all the mighty men were on his right hand and on his left. And as David and his men went by the way, Shimei went along on the hill side over against him, and cursed as he went, and threw stones at him, and cast dust. And Abishai said unto the King, "Why should this dead dog curse my lord the King? Let me go over, I pray thee, and take off his head." But King David in his grief would not let him, for he felt that his affliction by the hand of such a dead dog was from God, and that God would requite to David good for his cursing, if he bore it patiently. So he let him curse on. And it was a remarkable providence of God, that this dead dog, whose head David would not permit to be cut off, because of his cursing, should be reserved to lose his head in a dog's business, as the first slave-hunter.

Yes, this Shimei was the first recorded martyr to a genuine slave-hunt. He lost his life in consequence of running after his slave-property. And this was the manner of it. His slaves ran away. We regard it as not improbable that they could not endure Shimei's habit of cursing and swearing, and throwing stones. For though, in all probability, they had been pagans born, yet they had not been accustomed, even in the land of the Philistines, to such horrible manners as these: and as cursing and swearing and throwing stones must have constituted a large part of Shimei's domestic discipline and example on his plantation, they preferred the pagan tuition still. They thought they had not made a very profitable exchange from the darkness of heathenism to the blessings of Slavery in a Christian land. So they ran away to Achish, King of Gath: the very same man, and the very same country, whither David himself had of old escaped from the pursuit and violence of Saul. And this man Shimei, was of the family of Saul; so that a horrid temper, and the right to hunt fugitives, were a genuine hereditary possession with him.

But why did the poor wretches take the trouble to run away so far as to Achish, when there was a law in Judea, that *thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him.* Why did they not run away, under cover of this law, to some other godly Judean master, where old Shimei, that dead dog, could not have reclaimed them? A great many servants thus ran away, in the time of David, as is manifest from Nabal's complaint, *there be many that run away now-a-days, every man from his master*; and there were neither marshals nor commissioners out after them. Which seems, indeed, to have constituted the bitterness of Nabal's grief, that there was no help for such an abominable state of freedom.

Well, reader, the reason we suppose to be this. The operation of that admirable law may possibly have been with special reference to Hebrew bondmen: but those of Shimei being probably from the Philistines, (as is proved by their running back thither,) and also doubtless of the country of Achish, there was no such degree of security for them in Judea, as they judged there would be in the land of Achish. So to the country of the Philistines they fled, and thither Shimei, that dead dog, pursued them. Besides, it would be quite probable that Shimei would have kept wholly from their knowledge any and all provisions in the Jewish law for the protection of the rights and kind treatment of bondmen. So away they ran, and Shimei after them.

But slave-hunters are very apt to follow their peculiar sport in entire disregard of any higher law than that of human property, policy, and statutes: and so did he. There was a higher law upon him in the command of the king, and his own solemn agreement, after the cursing expedition before noted, that he should stay close in Jerusalem, and that if he were found any where at any time, on any occasion, beyond a certain distance, his head should pay for it. On this condition only he was spared.

Well, when his slaves ran off, he forgot all that, or disregarded it, in the hot haste of his soul to get back his property that had taken to itself wings and fled away. *Abrupit, abiit, abscedit, abaputulavit, ellexamintavit.* As the legal gentlemen say, *Non est inventus.* And Shimei was enraged, transported beyond discretion, as he was when he cursed King David and threw stones at him; and now, without any regard to the consequence, he would, at all hazards, have back his runaway property.

Did he forget the *habeas corpus* act, that Solomon, with his own consent, had established with him? "You have a body," said Solomon to him, "though you be but a dead dog; and if at any time, under any pretence, you are caught with that body beyond certain limits, you forfeit all right and title to its possession, and it shall come under the axe of the headsman. Now look to yourself. Stick to your *habeas corpus*, and all will be well. Abandon that, and you die." But Shimei, dead dog as he was, had more than one body, and he may have reasoned with himself, that he was but just fulfilling the *habeas corpus* act, in going after that other body, or those other bodies, to bring them back with his own; or he may have thought that the securing of fugitive slaves was a thing so very dear to the powers that be, as ordained of God, so very precious to the State, so essential to its union and safety, that King Solomon would forego all covenants, engagements, and laws, higher or lower, human or divine, for the sake of sustaining the principle of property in slaves.

So Shimei arose and saddled his ass, and went to Gath to Achish, to seek his servants; and Shimei went and brought his servants from Gath. And it was told Solomon that Shimei had gone from Jerusalem to Gath, and was come again. And the King sent and called for Shimei, and said unto him, Did I not make thee to swear by the Lord, and protested unto thee, saying, Know for a certain, on the day that thou goest out and walkest abroad any whither, that thou shalt surely die? And thou saidst unto me, The word that I have heard is good. Why, then, hast thou not kept the oath of the Lord, and the commandment that I have charged thee with? The King said moreover to Shimei, Thou knowest all the wickedness which thine heart is privy to, that thou didst to David my father; therefore the Lord shall return thy wickedness upon thine own head. So the King commanded Benaiah the son of Jehoiada; which went out, and fell upon him, that he died. And that was the end of the first recorded slave-hunter, a miserable dead dog he was.

—*The* (N. Y.) *Independent.*

THE SYRACUSE RESCUE CASE.

CHARGE OF JUDGE CONKLING TO THE GRAND JURY, AT BUFFALO.

THE following is the charge of Judge Conkling to the Grand Jury of the United States District Court at Buffalo, on the 11th instant:

GENTLEMEN OF THE GRAND JURY: You are aware, gentlemen, that the people of the United States have seen fit voluntarily to subject themselves to two distinct systems of civil government, each having its Legislative, Executive and Judicial Departments, and each, within its own proper sphere, acting independently of the other. The powers of each of these governments respectively, are exercised by agents chosen for that purpose, directly or indirectly by the people; and while every citizen is entitled to the protection of each, all are bound, also, to yield obedience to both. You of course understand me, gentlemen, as referring to the National and State governments; between which, by written organic laws denominated constitutions, the whole political power which the American people have seen fit to delegate, has been distributed. The national government is one of specific powers expressly enumerated in the constitution of the United States. They are limited to certain specified subjects, few in number, in which the whole American people have a common interest, and which require one uniform rule of action. Thus, for example, it is declared by the constitution that the Congress shall have power to regulate, not the internal commerce of a State, but commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes; to establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States; to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and to fix the standard of weights and measures; to establish post offices and post roads; to declare war; to raise and support armies; and to provide and maintain a navy.

With the exception of the comparatively very limited, but vastly important authority thus expressly delegated to the general government, the immense and undefined residue of political power belongs to the State governments, or to the people.

For obvious reasons, the power of penal legislation, in any government, ought to be exactly co-extensive with its power of general legislation: for, while upon one hand it would be idle to confer authority to enact laws, and withhold authority to enforce obedience; on the other hand, any extension of this latter power beyond the limit I have mentioned, would be inconsistent and absurd. And hence it results that a vast majority of the public offences committed in the United States are punishable in the State courts alone; and from the nature and organization of the federal government, it also results that offences against the United States consist, in a legal sense, only of those criminal acts which have been designated and declared punishable by some statute of the United States. Those hitherto of the most frequent occurrence in this district, are the making and passing of counterfeit coin, and larcenies, and embezzlements from the mail and Post Office. These and other ordinary offences, and the laws on which they depend, have often been made the subject of comment in this court, and it is the less necessary that I should enter into any explanation concerning them now, because I am not apprised that any of them are likely to come under your notice: and this is the less probable, because a Grand Jury has very lately been empannelled in another part of the district.

But, gentlemen, I am sorry to say that, in the execution of my judicial duties, I have been made acquainted with certain other gross infractions of the laws of the United States, into which it will be your duty to inquire: and as the offences to which I allude are novel in this district, it is proper that I should briefly explain their nature.

By one of the articles of the Constitution of the United States—you know what that is, gentlemen; it is the supreme law of the land—of paramount obligation upon every citizen, every legislative body, and every judicial tribunal, State and national, of the United States—by one of the articles of this organic law, it is ordained that "No person held to service or labour in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour: but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due."

This provision is understood to embrace others besides African slaves, but its language is plainly descriptive of them, and, as we know, moreover, from contemporaneous history, it was to them especially, that it was designed to apply. The Constitution went into operation in 1789; and in 1793, in pursuance of the power conferred by this provision, Congress passed an act for the purpose of carrying it into effect. This act looked for its execution mainly to State magistrates, and by their agency many absconding slaves were restored to their owners.

But after the lapse of more than half a century, it had, from various causes, which I need not stop to enumerate, become insufficient for its purpose; and in September, 1850, a supplemental act was therefore passed, which has acquired no little notoriety under the popular name of the Fugitive Slave act. One of the most important of the changes introduced by it consists in the substitution of certain officers appointed by the Circuit Courts of the United States for the several Judicial Districts, long known as Commissioners of these courts, instead of the State magistrates designed by the act of 1793. After affirming the right of the owner in person, or by his authorized agent or attorney, to apprehend his fugitive slave, and after empowering the judges of the United States, and the commissioners I have mentioned, when applied to for that purpose, to issue warrants authorizing and requiring the marshals of the United States and their deputies to arrest such fugitives, the new act proceeds, in the seventh section, to provide

quented, not only by the Abolitionists, but by wealthy and educated inhabitants of Boston, and neighbouring towns, who take no interest in the movement, but who are lured to purchase the beautiful and often unique articles exposed for sale. The expense, labour, and earnest feeling which have been obviously devoted to the production of so splendid an assortment of valuable goods—especially to those sent from England, Scotland, and Ireland—necessarily arouse attention to the object which has enlisted the sympathy of so many, and such distant friends; and the effect is often found to be, a sense of neglected duty to their oppressed countrymen in the minds of persons who had hitherto been callous to the wrongs of the slave. In an interesting report of this bazaar, from the pen of a lady whose talents and fidelity have long aided and adorned the Anti-Slavery cause, and whose poetry lately graced our columns, we find the following notice of the efficient efforts of the "American Anti-Slavery Society," in aid of which this annual fair is held:

"We can only say, that on this instrumentality, the American Anti-Slavery Society especially relies for a portion of the funds by which it carries forward the fearfully important undertaking of changing the hearts and enlightening the consciences of seventeen millions of people as regards a question touching which they were, till within the last 18 years, even as the people of Nineveh, not knowing their right hand from their left. That this is not now the case, that the whole country is thoroughly aroused, that old parties are broken up, churches shaken and severed, Congress thoroughly convulsed with discussion, newspapers, secular and religious, of every shade of opinion, ringing with controversy, a great Northern party beginning to form, basing itself not on those paltry and mercenary considerations that have hitherto shaped politics, but assuming as its foundation the great question of human rights,—that all this is passing before our eyes, we may thank the earnest, uncompromising utterance of the truth by the American Anti-Slavery Society and its auxiliaries. The same decided utterance is still called for. This body, few in numbers, weak in worldly influence, destitute of pecuniary ability, hated as the depository of the most unpopular truth that could be presented to a nation like ours, namely, the identity and equality of the human family, this despised and calumniated body is yet the only one that knows and utters the whole truth, 'without concealment and without compromise.' It enunciates absolute truth and calls for entire justice, allowing no man to tolerate crime or palter with oppression, even for an hour. It denies the name of Christian to that church that sanctions or connives at human Slavery. It scorns and loathes a compact, by which a fugitive slave is returned to bondage, and strong men pledge themselves to turn cowardly weapons against the weak and helpless, whom oppression shall have goaded to madness.

"These are the doctrines which the American Anti-Slavery Society promulgates. It is the privilledge of the National Bazaar to aid it in the good work, and this mode of assistance will not be, we trust, abandoned, till a more efficient and excellent manner of producing the same or greater results shall have been devised.

"This annual festival has many collateral benefits, at which we can only glance. It exerts a most fortunate influence in opposition to the unmanly and unchristian prejudice against colour, which obtains so widely even in this city where, from its educational and literary pretensions, less ignorance and barbarism might have been reasonably expected. But it is not so. Church, theatre, concert-room, literary lectures, social gatherings, all alike exclude people of colour; and the Anti-Slavery Bazaar is almost the only public place where this unfortunate class are not subject to insult or abuse."

We may remark here, that the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, so far from commending this important agency to the sympathy of the British public, refuses to insert in the *Reporter*, even as advertisements, any appeal to the friends of the slave in its behalf, or any notice of contributions sent to it from this country, and as respects the labours of that energetic Society, of which the bazaar is an auxiliary, and which has been doing so much in America to overthrow Slavery, the *Reporter*, as we have frequently stated, utterly ignores them.

In spite, however, of the obstructions to the true Anti-Slavery Cause offered by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and its organ, in this and various other ways, boxes of valuable articles for the bazaar are annually sent to Boston from Dublin, Cork, Edinburgh, Perth, Glasgow, Bristol, and occasionally from Manchester, Newcastle, and other places. We extract from the *Bristol Examiner* an account of the contributions from that city, which were forwarded last week to America, the selling prices of which amounted to 150*l*.:

"BOSTON ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.—The annual exhibition of contributions about to be forwarded from Bristol to this bazaar, took place at the dwelling-house of Mr. Herbert Thomas, Great George-street, on Tuesday and Wednesday last. The articles were numerous, varied, and some costly; they evinced that rich and poor had united together in this work of benevolence. The water-coloured paintings, Honiton lace, and carved leather work, were particularly admired. One table, covered with elegant specimens of basket work, so exquisitely finished as to secure high prices, attended special attention. These were the gifts of the pupils of the Blind Asylum, made by them during the hours of relaxation from their daily duties, and with materials purchased at their own cost. Labours of love from many a sick bed adorned the tables, in token of sympathy with the suffering slave. Charity schools proffered their mites; and even the poor children of the ragged-school in St. James'-back, presented the fruits of their manual labour in a neatly-made patch-work table-cover, knit-stockings, pen-wipers, and several kinds of fancy work. Apprehensions had been entertained that the recent reproduction in this town of certain arguments for not helping the Boston Bazaar, which were issued a year and a half ago by some ladies in Glasgow (the injustice of which has been long since fully exposed), might operate unfavourably on the present collection. The fears were, however, groundless, for on no former occasion has there been one more valuable, more tasteful, or more saleable. And the warning which may have deterred some from affording their accustomed aid to this important object, has induced others to investigate its claims; and the result has been so great an accession of zealous supporters, as to convince all who now are engaged in procuring these annual testimonials of Bristol sympathy, that after a short time no real friend of the slave will try to discourage any from thus adding to the resources of the American Anti-Slavery Society; that the more its merits are canvassed, the more highly will the disinterested labours of the Abolitionists be appreciated, and the more entitled they will appear to the confidence and co-operation of the British public. The collection was inspected by a large number of visitors."

We trust that on future occasions London will not withhold its liberality from this truly Anti-Slavery work.—*Daily* (London) *Advertiser*.

A SLAVE HUNT—ESCAPE OF THE GAME.—A few days prior to the election, some of the Southern friends of the Union began to have uneasy doubts in regard to the reliability of the Cotton faith of many of the 'fourteen thousand' who had signed the secret circular, and were advertised in the *Journal of Commerce* as sure voters for the Union ticket. In order to quicken the zeal of these new converts, the gentlemen referred to determined to have a grand Slave-hunt for the purpose of showing how easily the law could be executed, agitation put down, and the Union saved; judging that the 'fourteen thousand,' having once smelt blood, would join the forlorn-hope of the Cotton party, and go it blind for the hybrid ticket, as all the dogs in the neighourhood hurry to the chase when some sagacious hound has started a hare. After dilligent search among the coloured population for marks of buck-shot and branding-irons, they succeeded in discovering a 'chattel' who had in days gone by fled from Maryland to liberty, and in the shortest possible space, matters were arranged for the hunt. As the 'marks' were clearly described, the finding of an owner was a very easy matter, and in due time a 'claim' was laid before the Commissioner, setting forth that a certain man in Maryland owned the head, body, limbs, brains, bones, blood, sinews, marrow, wool, life and soul of a certain man in New York, and the man in Maryland demanded that the officers of the United States should forthwith seize the said man in New York, handcuff him, gag him (with law) so that he could not dispute the claim, and after a brief *ex-parte* examination, to deliver him to said claimant in the State of Maryland, for which 'summary proceeding' the good people of the United States were to defray the expenses. The plan was well rehearsed, the day and hour fixed, and a choice number of cotton politicians notified to be on hand to see the workings of the law. So secret had all this been kept that it was thought impossible that even a hint of it had got beyond the circle of conspirators; but, alas for the hunters! while they were spreading the snare, some notions of their plan was discovered by a party whose higher-law feelings needed no prompting to induce him to save a fellow-being from the slave shambles of the South. Having been a slave himself, he knew the beauties and blessings of the system, and yet was foolish enough to endeavour to prevent his black brother from hastening back to the land of the 'patriarchal institution.' He did not know who was hunted, nor who were the hunters, nor the claimant—in fact, he only knew that preparations had been made to arrest a fugitive, and instantly set to work to frustrate the capture. By zealous endeavours he succeeded in finding his victim, warned him of his danger, and assisted him in preparing for flight. It was on the very day fixed for the hunt that the discovery was made; in two hours from the first hint the proposed victim was on the Hudson River Railroad, going toward Canada at the rate of forty miles an hour, and when the Marshal who held the warrant was making his official rap at the fugitive's door, the 'game' was whizzing along the Mohawk Valley, still speeding towards the British dominions, flying from Republican Slavery to Monarchical Liberty. The consternation of the hunting party, when they discovered their loss, was overwhelming. There was not sufficient time before the election to arrange another exhibition of the workings of the law, and they finally disbanded with long faces and heavy hearts. They have kept very quiet about the affair since their discomfiture, albeit they are almost dying to know how the thing got out. For their edification on this point we refer them to the words of Solomon: 'Curse not the king, no, not in thy thought; for a bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell of the matter."—*Tribune*.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

'** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

†† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1851

FATHER MATHEW.

In our last number we published the Valedictory Address of this gentleman to the Citizens of the United States. It is, certainly, a fitting epilogue to the unworthy part he has seen fit to play upon this Transatlantic scene. Though fitting, yet painful, as must ever be the spectacle of the mean compliances of one who, in a former state of his existence, had given promise of far other and better things. It is in perfect keeping with the whole tenor of his life and conversation since he was ferried over the Atlantic two years ago; but still it is painful and mortifying when contrasted with what we had a right given to us to expect. He has been true, to the last, to the falsification of the Anti-Slavery testimony of his Irish life with which he auspicated his entrance into the Model Republic. He denied the faith which he had professed at home, almost as soon as he had set his foot upon American soil, and his parting blessings as he leaves it are showered upon HENRY CLAY, "his disinterested advocate, his dearly cherished friend," and Edward K. Collins, the chiefest among the Hundred Slave-catchers of New York who have devoted themselves to the Salvation of the Union, and have sealed their apostleship in the blood of poor Long! It is a sight at once pitiful and pitiable—provocative of contempt and of sorrow,—to see the infirmity of purpose and want of moral *stamina* of a man making the philanthropic pretensions of Father Mathew.

Ten years ago Theobald Mathew looked at American Slavery from the stand-point of Ireland. Removed from the fatal influences with which it curses almost all that venture or find themselves within its reach, he could see it as it is. From that safe distance he could bid his Irish countrymen in America be strong and fearless in their opposition to Slavery. In the Address which just ten years ago was sent by "the People of Ireland to their Countrymen and Countrywomen in America," signed first by Daniel O'Connell, and second by Theobald Mathew, he could speak thus emphatically

"Slavery is the most tremendous invasion of the natural, inalienable rights of man, and of some of the noblest gifts of God, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." What a spectacle does America present to the people of the earth! *A land of professing Christian republicans, uniting their energies for the oppression and degradation of three millions of innocent human beings*, the children of one common Father, WHO SUFFER THE MOST GRIEVOUS WRONGS AND THE UTMOST DEGRADATION, for no crime of their ancestors or their own! SLAVERY IS A SIN AGAINST GOD AND MAN. *All who are not for it must be against it.* NONE CAN BE NEUTRAL. *We entreat you to take the part of justice, religion and liberty.*

"*It is in vain that American citizens attempt to conceal their own and their country's degradation under this withering curse.* AMERICA IS CURSED BY SLAVERY! WE CALL UPON YOU TO UNITE WITH THE ABOLITIONISTS, and never to cease your efforts until perfect liberty be granted to every one of her inhabitants, the black man as well as the white man. We are all children of the same gracious God; all equally entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

These were, doubtless, the honest sentiments of Father Mathew's heart, at that time; and his course in Ireland, as far as he had opportunity, was in accordance with them, by the concurring testimony of Irish and American Abolitionists. Had he been told on the day when he appended his name to that noble paper that he himself would live to be guilty of the very things which the Address proceeded to exhort his Americanized countrymen to avoid, would he not have exclaimed with Hazael, the Syrian, "what is thy servant a dog that I should do this great thing!"

He arrived in this country in the summer of 1849, and was waited upon soon after he reached Boston by a deputation of the Massachusetts' Anti-Slavery Society. Their object was to comply with the demands of common courtesy in expressing the respect felt by the Abolitionists for one who had turned aside from his specialty in his own country to give them a word of help and encouragement, and to invite him to unite with them in Celebrating the great act of British Justice, the Emancipation of the West Indian Slaves. A modest and reasonable request, surely! To invite a British subject to rejoice with us over the most shining fact of British history! It was done in entire good faith and without the faintest wish (as was distinctly expressed) of withdrawing him from the line of operations he had marked out for himself, and in the success of which we felt as deep an interest as he could do. But the delegation found the Very Reverend gentleman an exception to the opinion of the Roman poet,

"*Cælum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.*"

He *had* changed his mind as well as his sky when he crossed the sea to us. British philanthropy, he instinctively knew, was a piece of goods which could not bear water-carriage. It was damaged in the transit, and was regarded as of little or no value in this market. He would have nothing to do with it. His conduct during the interview was shuffling and scantly courteous, and to the letter of invitation, which was left in his hands, he never vouchsafed an answer. This was his mode of "UNITING WITH THE ABOLITIONISTS," which he had urged so forcibly upon Irishmen in America as a most imperative duty! We think his own experience will enlarge his charity for his humbler countrymen who succumb to the pro-slavery influences which were too mighty for himself to withstand.

This conversation having been made public and the Irish Address republished, Judge Lumpkin, of Georgia, addressed to Father Mathew an insolent letter demanding to know whether the Address were genuine, and, if so, "whether he still cherished the same sentiments which are there embodied!" Adding that "justice to our families, our firesides, every thing dear to us, forbid that we should call any man brother who unites with our enemies in waging an unprovoked and most relentless warfare upon our hearths and homes, our peace and prosperity!" The first answer of Father Mathew, in these embarrassing circumstances, not being satisfactory to his Slaveholding Inquisitor, he officially withdrew the invitation of the Georgia Temperance Society to "the Apostle" to visit Georgia. "We will welcome no one," said he in his Bull of Interdiction, "knowingly among us, who fraternizes himself, or encourages others to do so, with a faction which would recklessly shiver the Union into fragments, which would reek its unhallowed hands red as crimson in human blood, which, in a word, seems to combine in one mass all the worst elements of thought, action and feeling peculiar to our troublous times!" But it was not long before Father Mathew humbled himself and made such satisfaction as could not fail to propitiate the most indignant of the Chivalry. In a letter to Judge Lumpkin, after disclaiming any intentional neglect of his communication, especially that of one "vested with the dignity of a Judge," he proceeds "in referring your Honour to the conversation with Mr. Garrison, I vainly thought my solemn declaration of being firmly resolved not to interfere in any, the slightest, degree with the institutions of this mighty Republic, would have been amply sufficient to calm the anxieties of even the most sensitive American! I now, dear and honoured Judge, renew this declaration, &c."

"He calmed their fears and they were calm."

The anxieties of the too sensitive Slaveholders were soothed. The Interdict was taken off, or, to speak more correctly, he was absolved from the Excommunication. The Apostle has had free course and been glorified throughout the Southern States, and there has been none to molest him or make him afraid.

We believe a very considerable portion of his time in this country has been spent in the Southern States. At any rate, he conducted himself while there in so discreet and wiselike a way as to have excited the admiration of Mr. Clay, who recommended him to the pecuniary consideration and moneyed gratitude of the Slavecatching patriots of New York, which were most cheerfully and liberally bestowed upon him. This Republic is not ungrateful to those whose omissions or commissions are well pleasing in its eyes. Father Mathew styles Mr. Clay his "disinterested advocate," as well as his "cherished friend." Is he, indeed, simple enough not to know that that recommendation was purchased, and purchased dearly too, by the price of his silent indorsement of what ten years ago he denounced as "A SIN AGAINST GOD AND MAN?" Does he not know that the moneys which were raised for him by the persuasion of that letter were the consideration for *not* opening his mouth for the dumb? How emphatically has Father Mathew proved in his own person the truth of the pregnant phrase of the Address! "*All who are not for Slavery must be against it!*" Has he been against it? "NONE CAN BE NEUTRAL!" Has he not been neutral? No. No. His first words were true. None can be neutral. His part was taken. And how it was taken, we see, clear as sunlight, in his triumphal procession through the Slave States, in the calmed anxieties of Lumpkin, in the letter of credit of Clay, in its prompt acceptance and payment by Collins and his crew of negro-catchers.

It is an ignoble ending of an enterprise which filled all benovelent hearts with joy when it was announced. What has not been going on under that man's eyes! The agitation of the whole country under the high pressure of the Compromises; the Fugitive Slave Law; the kidnapping of Long, and Sims, and Bolding, and many others; and the brave thousands of innocent human beings, guilty of no crime but loving Liberty more than Slavery, driven to still more unhospitable climes to escape the cruelty of that law; the fierce intensity into which it has blown political and commercial cupidity; the moral opposition which it has arrayed against itself in the Free States, and the physical resistance which has been successfully offered to it in Boston, at Christiana and in Syracuse; he has witnessed all this, and has made no sign, given no word of rebuke to the Wrong and no syllable of encouragement to the Right. All that we know of him, in these relations, is from a Letter of Henry Clay, without whom the atrocities of the Fugitive Bill could never have existed, recommending him to the liberality of the New York Slave-catchers, who have been of all men the swiftest to make its horrid threatenings a more horrible reality. We need not indicate how different might have been the course of Father Mathew, and how blessed a memory he might have left behind him. Had he but done what he strenuously advised his humbler countrymen to do, without deviating from his peculiar mission, he might have left an impression far deeper and more lasting than any English subject that has ever visited America. He might not have enjoyed the hospitalities and friendship of Judge Lumpkin and Mr. Clay, nor carried away the blood-stained gold of the New York Slave-catchers; but he would have been cheered by the blessing of them that are ready to perish, and have been crowned with the love and admiration of the lovers of liberty, everywhere, to the end of time.—E. Q.

JOHN SCOBLE, ESQ.

MR. EDITOR: In your paper of October 30, under the head of the "Rev. John Scoble and George Thompson," after copying several notices of the meeting to be held in Mr. Beecher's Church, by Mr. Scoble, and making remarks upon them, you intimated that this gentleman was "his own trumpeter," and said, "the fertile brain of Mr. Lewis Tappan, doubtless, aided in the perfection of a scheme as cunning as it is base." I supposed the impropriety of such allusions would be apparent to your readers, and therefore contented myself by saying in a Postscript to a note on another subject, as follows:

"You did me injustice in referring to me as you did in your last paper. The meeting for Mr. Scoble, in Mr. Beecher's Church, was arranged before I had returned from my journey. I had nothing to do with the preparations, advertising, notices, &c.; nor was I informed who did make them. Mr. Scoble informs me that he did not know anything about the notices, &c."

In your paper of November 6, you do not apologise or retract the language you so gratuitously used respecting myself, merely observing, "we willingly make this correction (alluding to my note) of what he deems an 'injustice.'" You then proceed to say, "but that Mr. Scoble himself was consenting to or cognizant of the preparatory notices of his lecture is, we hold, very sufficiently indicated by these opening remarks in the lecture itself."

That you should have published the above after my assuring you, in a note in your possession, three days previous to the publication of your paper of November 6, that Mr. Scoble had informed me that he did not know *anything* about the notices, &c., will appear to many very extraordinary. I have only to add a request that you will publish this note entire, in justice to all parties concerned. LEWIS TAPPAN.

REMARKS.

Mr. Tappan's request for the publication of the above note 'entire' is quite superfluous. We publish it with pleasure; and we should be sorry to miss a word of it, its *entirety* being the thing that specially recommends it.

We beg our readers to remember what Mr. Tappan so strangely forgets, namely, our charge against Mr. Scoble of a base, malicious, and cowardly attack upon George Thompson, upon the supposition that he pretended to be a representative of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; a supposition suggested by Mr. S. himself, and which, even if it existed at all, no man knew better than he, was a gross mistake. The attack, we maintained, concerned Mr. Scoble's character as an Abolitionist; his assumption of the supposed necessity for such an attack concerned his character as a man and a clergyman. Of course we do not pretend to say that he might not differ from Mr. Thompson and his friends, and yet be honest, though in that case we could not respect his intelligence, and would put him out of the way, if we could, as an obstacle to the progress of the Cause; but when he assumes the existence of a mistaken notion, and then assumes that notion—that Mr. Thompson pretended to represent the British and Foreign Society—to be true, when *he knows it to be false*, then we declare that he has created a lie to serve his purpose of a base, malicious, and cowardly attack upon an absent countryman. Such an attempt to undermine the Anti-Slavery influence of Mr. Thompson, and through him the American Anti-Slavery Society, shows Mr Scoble to value the gratification of his personal pique and his sectarian bigotry far more than he does the good of the Anti-Slavery cause; and the means he used wherewith he hoped to effect that object show him to be a man so destitute of principle that he does not hesitate at the most slanderous and outrageous falsehood to compass his ends. That is our charge against the Rev. John Scoble, Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

And here is his next friend, in this country, Mr. Lewis Tappan, come forward to reply for him. That the 'entire' of his complaint against us should consist in objecting to a certain deduction of ours, of little consequence, while he has nothing to say of the grave impeachment we make of his friend's character, is a significant fact. As we said of Mr. Tappan's complaint of injustice, we can only regard this omission on his part to defend his friend as a tacit acknowledgment that no defence can be made.

The note itself, however, calls for a word in reply. We have made, Mr. Tappan says, neither retraction nor apology for our injurious supposition in regard to himself. "If to say that we willingly make this correction of what he deems an injustice" is not to retract the offensive charge, then we must begin again our study in the use of language. We meant this as a retraction, though not as an apology. Apology we have none to make. Mr. Tappan, we knew, was Mr. Scoble's friend; Mr. Tappan, indeed, is the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society with which Mr. Scoble is "in sympathy." That Society he virtually assumes as as sponsor, in his speech at Brooklyn, for his acts, and it —or Mr. Tappan—we had a sight to presume, made all the preliminary arrangements for that lecture. That such arrangements were made, and that they included the *Times* and *Tribune* Notices, Mr. Tappan clearly admits in his note. We had a right to presume them to have been made by him as Mr. Scoble's friend. But he denied it, and we admitted the denial, so far as he is personally concerned, without further suggestion. That we make now, however, and hereby assure Mr Tappan that we will apologise amply and publicly when he shows that those Notices were not made by or suggested by any one connected with or dependent upon him, or who acted as his *locum tenens*, as the American and Foreign Society, or its agent, in his absence.

But we still surmised "that Mr. Scoble himself was consenting to or cognizant of the preparatory notices," and did not retract that charge, though assured by Mr. Tappan of Mr. Scoble's assertion to the contrary. With all due deference to Mr. Tappan, we submit whether we were bound to take at second-hand a denial while Mr. Scoble was here to make it, if he chose, under his own hand. We had before us the evidence that that gentleman was quite capable in a public lecture, and before a respectable audience, of descending to equivocation and deceit in this matter; and that alone, even if we had known nothing of him previously, would have justified us in not accepting a mere denial of any part of our charge against him, made through another person. Perhaps he did not write the Notices, or know of their being written; but in his lecture at Brooklyn he was guilty of precisely the same meanness, in almost precisely the same words, as that which characterized the Notices; and having convicted him of the greater wrong, we were justified in suspecting him of the lesser and preparatory wrong till he himself denied it to us. Till he did that, and while the evidence against him of falsehood remains unimpeached, we are not bound to give credit to a denial made in so indirect a manner. We do not doubt that he made the denial to Mr. Tappan; we will give him credit for it when he makes it to us, and let it go as far as it will in freeing him from the odium of that particular charge. He will then have to deal with every other reflection we have made upon him, except that of being his own "trumpeter."

ACQUITTAL OF ROBERT MORRIS.

THE trial of ROBERT MORRIS, charged with participation in the rescue of Shadrach, terminated, last week, in Boston, with the acquittal of the prisoner. The Union papers of that city and of this are again thrown almost into convulsions of terror at the imminent danger into which the Republic is once more brought by this event. To what are we coming? where is public justice? asks a Boston paper; and a New York paper responds: if from this we may conjecture the result of the trials in this State and Pennsylvania, then Disunion, anarchy and bloodshed await us. The fact of the acquittal is certainly significant, though we are not apprehensive of such consequences as are dreaded by our contemporaries. If a Jury packed as that was on the trial of Morris could not find the prisoner guilty against whom even such evidence could be brought as that produced against Morris, we may hope that in Massachusetts, at least, the people will be emboldened to disobey, as far as as they can without open violence, the requirements of the Fugitive Slave Law.

In this trial, Curtis, the new Judge, presided, and the (Boston) *Commonwealth* gives him credit for acting simply as a Judge, and not as a pro-slavery advocate. His Charge to the Jury was as follows:

That a preliminary question as to the powers of the Court and Jury in criminal cases, which had been fully and ably argued in their hearing, had been considered by the Court and an opinion pronounced; and that the Court had decided that it was their duty to express their opinion of the law, and that the Jury were to take the law as stated by the Court, and apply it to the facts which they find. As to the facts, the Court has no responsibility; and here, the responsibility of the Jury begins. The indictment was explained to consist of a large number of counts, which, however, for the sake of clearness and convenience, might be divided into two classes. First, the first fourteen counts, to sustain which it was necessary for the Government to prove that Shadrach was lawfully held to service by John Debree; that he escaped to Massachusetts; that John Caphart was Debree's agent, duly authorized to claim him; that on Caphart's complaint a warrant was issued by the Commissioner; that Shadrach was arrested thereon and brought into this Court room; that time was granted by the Commissioner; that an order was passed by the Commissioner directing to keep the prisoner; which order was delivered to Patrick Riley, the Deputy Marshal; that Shadrach, while so held by the Marshal under this order, escaped, and that Morris aided the escape. Under the second class, embracing the remaining counts of the indictment, it was necessary for the Government to prove that Mr. Riley held Shadrach under lawful process of the United States, and that Morris obstructed him in the execution of this process. And, as to all this, the burden of the proof is on the Government.

The COURT said it would be best for the Jury to examine these charges separately, although all the facts were common to both. And first, they should consider whether, in point of law and fact, they were made out. As to some of the facts, there was no controversy, but other important facts remained on which the Jury must pass. 1st, was Shadrach held to service by the laws of Virginia by John Debree, and was he the identical person respecting whom the papers were given by Debree to Caphart? It has been argued to the Jury that they were to believe these facts only on such evidence as would induce them to send one of their own children into Slavery. But this was not so; there was here no such question; it is to be judged by the facts, and the question is, do the Jury believe the witnesses? As to Debree, there is no question, and no attempt is made to impeach him. Then, as to Caphart. The law has provided rules, and one is, that a witness under oath is to be believed, unless in some way his testimony is impeached or invalidated. Is anything adduced here going to impugn Caphart's character for truth and veracity? It has been argued that he has made such statements as to his relations with the coloured population as should have that effect. A witness, a stranger among us, should be treated with fairness, and is not to be overwhelmed by our tempestuous sensibility. If, however, his statements as to his occupation and station in life, seem to you to discredit him, then the first charge against the prisoner must fall, because Shadrach is not shown to have been held as alleged, or was not the person described. All these counts rest on that allegation.

In the next place, there is very little controversy as to the question whether Mr. Riley was a person lawfully assisting the agent of Debree, as all these facts do appear by the papers of the case, and are made out by the law. The main question in the case, then, is, did the defendant knowingly aid or assist in the escape? The question of conspiracy has been fully argued, but does not appear to the Court to be very material. It is agreed that Shadrach was rescued by a body of men acting in concert, and it is quite immaterial at what time that concert was formed. Morris' acts and declarations might be divided into two parts, those made before the adjournment of the Court, and those subsequent to that time. The first depends on the declaration of Shadrach himself; and they were to consider whether any others than Counsel had communicated with him; whether it was made in reference to an escape or attempt to do so, and whether it was in consequence of any declaration made by Mr. Morris. The Government is bound to show not only that the circumstances are consistent with guilt, but that they are inconsistent with innocence. Morris, as Counsel, had the same rights and privileges as other Counsel, and his conduct must be presumed right until proved to be wrong.

It may perhaps be necessary to take other circumstances into consideration; they must be viewed as a whole. If all his conduct is sufficient to satisfy you that he was engaged in preparing a rescue, he is guilty of this part of the charge; but if, viewed altogether, it is consistent with his having no such plan, the charge is not proved. Even if it do not appear that he aided in the rescue, yet if he was present and did nothing to prevent it, this would render him guilty under the statute. And in the testimony respecting his declaration in the entry that there was a good '*time*' or 'chance,' it was their duty to take that expression which was most favourable to the prisoner, if there is any difference between them. As to his alleged acts opposite Deacon Grant's house, there is a contradiction between the witnesses, and you will consider whether their testimony can be reconciled. As to the contradictory evidence respecting the question whether or not he was in the cab, they were to consider the probability of Harding's seeing Morris walking with Shadrach in Southac street, others testifying that they did not see him there.

Under the second counts it was necessary to prove that Shadrach was lawfully held by the Marshal, and if the Jury believe that he was so held by the order of the Commissioner, the same evidence that would have proved aiding in the rescue under the first counts, will, under these, show that he resisted the officer. The Fugitive Slave Law, the Court held to be constitutional and valid, binding on the Court and the Jury, as citizens and in their official capacity.

The greatness of the crime and its consequences had been spoken of to the Jury. And it was true that a great crime had been committed in the very place where Justice is administered, which, if repeated, may lead to violence and bloodshed; but though thus serious, they were not to convict an innocent man, but to consider the evidence with vigilance and fairness.

The importance of the consequences to the prisoner should on the other hand guard them against light suspicions; they should act only on proper proof. They were to decide on their evidence as the good of society and the demands of Justice required.

THE CHRISTIANA PRISONERS.

WE mentioned, last week, the escape of two witnesses imprisoned to await the trial of the Christiana prisoners. How they happened to escape, of course nobody tells who knows any thing about it; but there are shrewed guesses that had they remained to appear in the witness-box, their testimony would not have proved to be of half the consequence to the Government's case as was at one time anticipated. Their escape, at any rate, from the following report of proceedings before Judge Kane, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, seems to be quite as interesting to the counsel of the prisoners as to the prosecuting attorney:

This morning, James McClaskey, keeper of the Debtors' apartment of Moyamensing, appeared in the United States District Court, with his counsel (Messrs Robt. Tyler and Wm. G. Smith), to answer the habeas corpus directed to him, to bring forth the bodies of Washington and Clark, the witnesses who escaped from his custody in the early part of last week. The answer of Mr. McClaskey was filed on Saturday last. It merely set forth that the two witnesses called for were not now in custody, nor were they at the time he received the habeas corpus, and that he could not have them in Court as directed. The District Attorney, J. W. Ashmead, stated that the case was to have been heard on Friday last, but time was given to file the answer until Saturday last, and adjourned until this morning. He then read the answer to the Court.

Mr. Ashmead moved the Court that the cases of Jacob Townsend, Castner Hanaway, and thirty-nine others, against whom bills for treason against the U. States have been found, be certified to the next Circuit Court for trial.

D. P. Brown, for a portion of the prisoners, desired the District Attorney to indicate which among the prisoners were to be tried first, and when the trial should take place. He might bring one hundred witnesses to Philadelphia, and, after keeping them here for days, find that the prisoner in whose case they were called to testify would not be tried for weeks.

Mr. Ashmead stated that he would try Hanaway first, a white man, and fixed the trial for Monday next. The second person tried would probably be Jackson. Mr. Ashmead further stated, in reference to the escape of the two witnesses from the Debtors' apartment, that Josephus Washington had told another witness that he was content to remain in custody if he was permitted to ride around the city and see the buildings, as he had never seen them. The matter of escape was one of perplexity, as no United States law existed upon the subject of escape where a prisoner had been committed to the custody of a jailor. There, however, was a State law, which fixed the responsibility and penalty, and he had no doubt but that he could convict in a State Court.

Judge Kane said, a question might arise whether such circumstances exist as to require this Court, sitting as a Committing Magistrate, to make an order directing it to a Court having jurisdiction, if it should be found that this Court has no jurisdiction of the case.

Mr. Ashmead thought he could convict the keeper of making a false return. Under the decision of a Court, the U. S. Marshal was not liable for an escape from a jailor into whose custody he had placed a prisoner or witness. The jailor is liable for his own acts.

D. P. Brown said that one of the escaped witnesses was an important witness for one of his clients, Joseph Scarlett. He had supposed the witness in safe keeping, otherwise he would have taken measures for his security.

Mr. Ashmead differed with Mr. Brown as to the importance of the witness' testimony for the defence. He (Mr. A.) was present at the witness' examination, and he deemed him a very important witness for the United States. There was something in the escape that he could not comprehend. These people were boarded at the expense of the United States and were to have received $1 25 per day in addition. The United States was already indebted to them $70 or $80, a larger sum by half perhaps than a majority of the witnesses, who were poor blacks, had ever in their possession. It looked to him as if there must have been a corresponding motive in the escape.

Judge Kane said—It was expected that a fuller return would have been made; but it is for the keeper to say whether he will or will not ask for time to amend the return. In its present shape, it is important that a full investigation should take place.

Robt. Tyler for the keeper, said that he was about to move that the habeas corpus be quashed as having been issued by the wrong Court. The act of Congress of 1789, to be sure, makes sheriffs, jailors and deputies liable to the same penalties as the acts of the Legislatures of the respective States in which they are located; but the act of the Legislature of 1847, sec. 6, declares it unlawful to use any of the jails of this State for the retention of fugitives from labour, and the 8th section repeals all laws that have been altered on this subject. The act of Congress of 1789 having been altered by the act of our Legislature of 1847, it is necessarily repealed, and the jailor is not liable to its penalties.

Mr. Ashmead said—It was altered only so far as to the putting of fugitives from labour into it; but in all other respects it was in full force.

Judge Kane—The question of the validity of the writ of habeas corpus issued by this Court, will arise at another time. It may be, that Mr. McClasky is not responsible as the keeper of the Debtor's apartment under the act of 1847, for the safe keeping of the witnesses; but at the same time he may be as a Deputy Marshal, acting for the U. S. Marshal.

Mr. Ashmead remarked that he was willing to give the defendant time for a fuller return to the writ, if the Court would permit it, and the defendant desired it. As it stands, it needs explanation. When the defendant shall have determined his course, he (Mr. A.) would inform his counsel what he intended to do.

Wm. G. Smith, for the defendant, said the return was as full as the facts would warrant.

Judge Kane remarked that the return had been made and filed among the records of the Court, but the defendant could still amend if he desired it.

The further hearing was then postponed, to give the defendant's counsel an opportunity to consult together.

JOHN BOLDING.

THE *Tribune* gives the following interesting particulars of the rendition, imprisonment, and return of John Bolding, whom we mentioned, last week, as having at length arrived in this city. The statement, no doubt, is made upon the authority of those who have been cognizant of these transactions as they transpired. That the same Committee which sent this man back to Slavery has just defeated the Whig ticket in this State is a fact which *The Tribune* would be glad to impress, just now, upon the minds of its party:

BOLDING A FREE MAN.—John M. Bolding, the alleged fugitive, who was remanded to South Carolina Slavery by Commissioner Nelson on the 20th of August last, because one-twentieth of his blood was African, has just returned to this city.

It will be recollected by those who took an interest in this matter, that his friends first agreed with the claimants to pay $1,750 for him in New York. This was agreed to, but several high bloods from the South interfered, and insisted that he must go back to South Carolina. The claimant then revoked his agreement and resolved to take him back. However, on being earnestly remonstrated with by his counsel, George Wood, and earnestly appealed to by the friends of Bolding and his wife, the slaveholder finally agreed with Bolding's counsel that he would go to trial, prove his title, give the slave's counsel an opportunity to raise all legal questions and present any points of defence, and if he was entitled to the slave he would then take the $1,750, as before he had offered. This proposition was accepted. The parties went to trial; Bolding was held to be the claimant's slave. His friends then bestirred themselves to raise the amount, but when nearly completed, they were astonished to learn that the Southern outsiders had again overruled Anderson, and he revoked that agreement, insisting that the defence had been severe, protracted, and irritating, and that the man must go back at all events. A large share of the amount contributed had been given on condition that he should not be taken back. However, such was the sympathy for the wife and her friends, that the last exaction was submitted to, and his friends agreed to pay the $1,750, on the slave's being returned safe to New York. Bolding was started for the boat, he and his friends cheered with the expectation that he would soon be returned a free man. But to their and his still greater surprise, he and they were informed, just as the boat was to leave, that $250 must be added for the expense of taking him to South Carolina and back! This was deemed an outrage on the generosity of Bolding's friends; and the sorrowful fellow left the wharf, shaking hands with his wife's brother, silent and in tears, at learning the new difficulties in the way of his purchase. He was told he must not expect too much, that it was doubtful whether even half the $1,750 would be paid on those humiliating terms, much less the additional $250 be raised. It was under these painful apprehensions that Bolding left for the cotton fields of Carolina, while his wife, feeling, no doubt, as *most* wives would, returned to her desolate home in Poughkeepsie.

The generous friends of the remanded fugitive again rallied, and before Friday noon of that week, the $2,000 were raised. The master (who still remained in New York) was notified, and by his order, the U. S. Marshal telegraphed the Deputy having Bolding in charge, to bring him back at once. But the Deputy found himself quite in other hands on his arrival at Columbia. The authorities, or rather the mob, interfered, took Bolding to the watch or guard-house, locked him up, cutting off all communication between him and his friends, and between him and his own master. He was kept thus confined from 2d September till 21st October. The Deputy returned without him; and what is a little remarkable, and calls for explanation is, that that Deputy, a Northern man, with a Northern heart, and Northern feeling, as he surely might be *supposed* to have, could leave Bolding there in prison, without informing him of the telegraphic dispatch announcing the $2,000, and the order of his master to have him returned; but instead thereof, taking a cold leave of him through the grates, with the cool and comforting exhortation of, "*John, now behave y

decide alone and exclusively upon the political changes necessary and proper to be made in Hungary, is at least as good as the title of a hundred thousand American slaveholders to keep in sole dependence upon their will and pleasure, upwards of three millions of their fellow countrymen, while they reduce the remaining twenty millions of nominal freemen to the hardly more enviable condition of slave-drivers and slave-hunters.

As to the exercise of this power, claimed in both cases to be of divine origin, the Emperor of Austria has not yet found it necessary to prohibit, under severe penalties, the teaching any portion of his subjects to read and write. On the other hand, all Austrian parents are required by law to send their children to school to be instructed in these necessary accomplishments.

The Emperor of Austria is no enemy to popular right. He reigns over the people of Austria for their good, not for his own. He is willing to receive light in the discharge of his august duties, from every quarter. But he does not look for information "on the great ideas of responsibility and purely popular principles of government," to the representatives of an aristocracy of slaveholders, very similar in one respect to that insurgent aristocracy lately suppressed in Hungary, that of preaching democracy with their tongues, while their whole lives consist in the daily exercise over their fellow men of arbitrary power, in the most repugnant of forms.

But although the Emperor cannot in anywise admit the pretensions of the United States to be "the representatives of purely popular principles of government," he has no objection that the relations of the two governments should stand upon that basis of mutual interference with the internal concerns of each other, on which the American government seems disposed to place it. In common with the rest of christendom, he has long regarded with hearty commisseration the degraded servitude, as it seems to him, disgraceful to Christianity, in which so large a portion of the common people are kept; and he cannot doubt that the uprising before long of some black Kossuth, will furnish him with an opportunity of carrying these new principles laid down by the American government into practice, and thereby serving the cause of human happiness, ever dear to the Emperor's heart.

Having thus communicated the sentiments of his Majesty on your late dispatch, I embrace this opportunity to renew to your excellency assurances of my high consideration. HULSEMAN.

To His Excellency, Daniel Webster, Secretary of State of the United States.

THE STATE ELECTION.—The complicated returns of the recent election in this State, have greatly puzzled the politicians, though it was conceded from the beginning that the Whigs, on the whole, were badly beaten. This, however, is now generally allowed, we believe, as a correct report of the result.

ALEX S. JOHNSON, Judge of Court of Appeals.
HENRY S. RANDALL, Secretary of State.
JOHN C. WRIGHT, Comptroller.
LEVI S. CHATFIELD, Attorney General.
WM. J. M'ALPINE, State Engineer.
HENRY STORMS, State Prison Inspector.

The Whigs claim the election of Cook, for Treasurer, and Fitzhugh, as Canal Commissioner.

CALVIN FAIRBANKS AGAIN IN TROUBLE.—The Telegraph reports that Calvin Fairbanks has again been detected in an attempt to rescue a woman from Slavery in Louisville, Ky., and in default of bail has been committed to jail to await his trial. Mr. Fairbanks, it will be recollected, has been once convicted of a similar offence, and was pardoned before serving out the full term of imprisonment to which he was sentenced. We know as yet nothing of the particulars of this last charge, but we trust it may appear that he did not visit Kentucky for the purpose of urging and assisting slaves to escape, for while we do full justice to the motives which may impel him or others to such a course, we do not believe it to be wise or expedient

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MR. MAY'S SPEECH.—The admirable speech of the Rev. S. J. May, of Syracuse, which we published last week, we omitted to state was delivered at a County Convention of the people of Onondaga Co., called to consider their duty, as men and as Christians respecting the attempt made by the United States Government to enslave an inhabitant of Syracuse.

A few copies of the Speech in pamphlet form are for sale at this office.

MASSACHUSETTS ELECTION.—In the popular vote in Massachusetts though Winthrop is beaten by 10,000 votes, the Coalitionists have failed, so far, to secure a majority in the Legislature. In many towns there was no choice for Representatives, but the Coalitionists are calculating to have it all their own way in those places on a second trial. In some they have already, and doubtless will in as many of the rest as will answer their purpose.

Anti-Slavery Convention.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE *R. ISLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.*

PURSUANT to notice, the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society was held at Mechanic's Hall, in the City of Providence, commencing Wednesday morning, Nov. 5th, 1851.

The meeting was called to order by Geo. L. Clarke, President of the Society.

JOHN L. CLARKE was chosen Secretary pro tem.

Portions of Scripture were read, and remarks made thereon, by Mr. Jewett.

Mr. BARNEY made some observations in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law.

There being but few persons present, the meeting adjourned at 12 o'clock, to meet in the afternoon at 2 o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The meeting assembled, and, in the absence of the President, Daniel Mitchel was called to the Chair.

It was voted that the Chair nominate a Business Committee, whereupon the following persons were chosen said Committee, viz.: Thomas Davis, Charles C. Burleigh, Susan Sisson, Paulina W. Davis, Frederick Douglass, Susan Harris, Mary B. Adams, Rebecca M. C. Capron, and Chas. Lenox Remond.

During the absence of the committee, remarks were made against the Fugitive Slave Law by Mr. J. B. Smith and Mr. Jewett.

The Annual Report of the Secretary of the Society was read and accepted.

The following Resolutions were reported by the Business Committee, and received for discussion, viz.:

1. Resolved, That never since the beginning of the Anti-Slavery enterprise have there been more urgent reasons than now for the earnest, united, and vigorous action, of every friend of Humanity and Justice, every lover of Truth and Freedom, on its behalf.

2. Resolved, That in the present threatening attitude and domineering tone of the Slave Power and its allies, towards all who dare to cherish a practical belief in our Declaration of Independence, and the Gospel of Human Brotherhood, we see renewed evidence of what Abolitionists have so often asserted, that Slavery and Liberty cannot live in peace, in the same country; that in the land where one class of the inhabitants are *slaves*, no class can be truly *free*.

3. Resolved, That next to the enjoyment of Liberty, is a just appreciation of its value, and a resolute determination not to yield it without a struggle; and that, among the victims of Tyrant Power, they are most to be honoured who most reluctantly bend to the yoke, and most promptly seize every opportunity to throw it off.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH addressed the meeting in an earnest and effective speech. He showed conclusively that there was but little actual Liberty enjoyed in this country; that the history of the world presents no more revolting spectacle of Tyranny and Oppression, on the one hand, and servile and degrading submission on the other, than an Oligarchy of two hundred and fifty thousand Slaveholders enforcing a government upon twenty millions of educated and intelligent people, depriving them of their most sacred rights, both civil and religious, without their seeming to know it, but imagining all the while that they are the greatest and freest nation on earth. He concluded by exhorting the friends of freedom to be faithful and unyielding in the present crisis of our cause; admonished us that the struggle had come to be one of life and death to some, perhaps many, in our ranks, and that *they* only were worthy who endured to the end.

SOPHIA LITTLE lamented the loss of character of the people of this country, the great degeneracy of the nation, and mentioned some evidences of premature decline and decay.

Adjourned to 6 1-2 o'clock in the evening.

EVENING SESSION.

President in the chair. The resolutions presented in the afternoon, and partially discussed, were read and the discussion of them resumed by C. L. Remond, in a spirited address. He set forth, in glowing colours, the severe trials which the coloured people of this country had to endure, subjected to a cruel prejudice, which cut them off in the land of their birth from participation in nearly all pursuits which white men consider honourable, and condemned, by usages and customs of society, to a living death. He exhorted his people to a brave and manly bearing—to improve every opportunity for self-improvement and elevation of character, and reminded them that there was one avenue to fame left them—that they could be Traitors to the government that oppresses them, and if they died in heroic defence of their rights, posterity would reverence and cherish their memories, while their oppressors would inherit an immortality of infamy.

LEWIS W. PAINE, recently from Georgia, related his experience of the treatment of slaveholders while in that State, giving an account of his six years' imprisonment in their penitentiary, for aiding a slave to escape; stated what he had seen of the slave system in the South, and made some general remarks on the subject of Slavery.

CHARLES C BURLEIGH next addressed the meeting, in a speech of great eloquence and power. He spoke of the freedom of the Anti-Slavery platform to the opponents of our doctrines and measures; of the inconsistency of this country in sustaining Slavery while inviting Kossuth, the Hungarian refugee, to our shores; of the Fugitive Slave Law, the apostacy of Daniel Webster, and the moral grandeur of the movement in which we are engaged.

On motion of Thomas Davis, a collection was taken up, to defray the expenses of the meeting.

CHARLES L. REMOND addressed the meeting on the necessity of contributing liberally to the Anti-Slavery funds.

Adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock in the morning.

THURSDAY MORNING.

The President being absent, Mr. Eaton was called to the chair.

Prayer was offered by Sophia Little. Portions of Scripture were read by Mr. Jewett. The resolutions presented yesterday were read.

C. L. REMOND suggested to all who wished to speak, that they improve the time in the early part of the meeting, to avoid crowding in the latter part.

Mrs. LITTLE made some remarks, advocating the necessity of religious reliance, faithfulness and trust, in our labours in this cause.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS addressed the meeting on the same subject as the last speaker; said it had been an error of some reformers that, in their efforts to elevate man, they had taken man himself for a model, while they ought to have looked for a higher one. We are so constituted that we cannot labour in such a cause as this, for any considerable length of time, without feeling supported by a Higher Power than ourselves inspiring us with energy and courage, and giving us living faith in the final triumph of righteousness and truth. He feared that Abolitionists, in denouncing the Church and Clergy for their recreancy to the cause of the slave, had, at times, coupled with it some disregard for religious truth itself. He felt that he had sustained a loss himself in this respect. A man must have love to God to stimulate his love to man. He had not been so hopeful of the American people as some of our Anti-Slavery friends; had always thought the Fugitive Slave Law would be enforced; mentioned some outrageous instances of its execution.

Mr. J. B. SMITH mades remarks expressive of the belief that Anti-Slavery interest had not subsided as much as some suppose.

SAMUEL W. WHEELER criticised a letter addressed to the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society by Rev. Theodore Parker, of Boston, and deprecated his approval of violent resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS replied to Mr. Wheeler, and maintained that Mr. Parker was both consistent and right.

Adjourned to 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Mr. EATON in the chair.

Mr. SMITH, of Norton, Mass., spoke of the necessity of having some more effectual means of aiding slaves to escape, and deprecated violent resistance to the law.

The TREASURER'S report was read and accepted. A Finance Committee, consisting of D. B. Harris, J. B. Smith and Wm. Aplin, was appointed to make collections and receive pledges of money for the use of the society the coming year. The Business Committee reported the following resolutions:

4. Resolved, That the Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850 is a caricature of law, and an outrage on right, at war with the Constitution, and in gross violation of the Divine Law; that fidelity to God, to human rights, and republican principles, demand that it should be disobeyed, denounced, and utterly repudiated, as destitute of the essential requisites of a law, and therefore as being both morally and legally *null and void*.

5. Resolved, That whosoever attempts to enforce it, whether Judge, Marshal or Commissioner, or whatsoever or whomsoever he may be, from President to Constable, or private Citizen, acts in contravention of the "Higher Law," both human and divine; is a disturber of the peace of society, a rebel against the Supreme Ruler, and, as such, ought to be visited with the stern reprobation of every honest man, and good citizen, every lover of God, his country and his race.

6. Resolved, That in the recent Christiana tragedy and its consequences, we witness the natural results of this most unrighteous and carnal enactment, and that, as such, we heartily deplore them as most disgraceful to our country in the eyes of the world, and especially of those nations of Europe who, while struggling for freedom against despotic power, have looked toward this nation as a model government and a home of Liberty.

7. Resolved, That the doctrine taught by so many distinguished statesmen and eminent religious teachers, that a statute of Congress is to be obeyed, supported and enforced, simply because it is a statute, whether right or wrong, and that there is no "higher law" than human statutes and constitutions, is a doctrine alike absurd and slavish; that, judged politically, it is pure despotism, and, judged religiously, it is rank atheism; and they who teach it in the pulpit, the cabinet, or legislative hall, on the platform or through the press, are false alike to Republicanism and Christianity.

8. Resolved, That we rejoice at the recent escape of a Fugitive Slave from Syracuse, New York, and honour its inhabitants, for not allowing their city to become the legal hunting ground of the Southern kidnapper and northern abettors. That we can but admire the noble and independent stand taken by Hon. Wm. H. Seward, in becoming bail for the alleged rescuers, and his generous treatment of them while under arrest at Auburn.

9. Resolved, That in the preparations making in this country to welcome Kossuth, the Hungarian "Fugitive" from Austrian servitude, and to do him ample honour for his efforts to secure liberty, even through blood and slaughter, for his oppressed countrymen, the nation is most emphatically self-condemned for its attitude towards the fugitives from its own oppression, and for its treatment of the noble and heroic men who have, with generous self-sacrifice, periled everything dear to them, to help their enslaved brethren out of bondage, by peaceful and bloodless means.

10. Resolved, That the only men who can *consistently* join in these ovations, to foreign refugees from tyranny and foreign champions of freedom, are the Abolitionists, who are equally ready to welcome and protect the refugees from American tyranny, and to sympathize with the martyrs in our own land, who are suffering for their fidelity to Freedom.

11. Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with those generous-hearted and self-sacrificing men who now lie in unjust imprisonment in Pennsylvania, under the preposterous charge of treason, as well as several charges of less heinous offences, on account of their alledged participation in the mournful tragedy at Christiana; and that we heartily unite, on their behalf, in the prayer which legal formality affects to put up for the accused when put on trial. "God send them a good deliverance."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS made remarks on the resolutions condemning the Fugitive Slave Law.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH followed Mr. Douglass with an address that occupied the meeting until the time of adjournment.

EVENING SESSION.

The PRESIDENT in the chair.

The Officers of the Society for the past year were re-elected, as follows:

President—GEORGE L. CLARK, of Providence.

Vice Presidents—George James Adams, of East Greenwich; Thomas Davis, of North Providence; and Dunbar B. Harris, of Providence.

Secretary—Amarancy Paine, of Providence.

Treasurer—Martin Robinson, of Providence.

Executive Committee—Wm. Chase, A. R. Janes, Thomas Davis, S. W. Wheeler, George L. Clarke, Amos J. Ballou, John L. Clarke, D. B. Harris, Susan Sisson, Mary R. Clarke, John C. Francis, Susan R. Harris, Cromwell Whipple, E. W. Capron, Joseph Chace, Rebecca W. C. Capron.

The Resolutions previously presented were read by the chairman of the Business Committee, and were offered for further discussion and adoption by the meeting.

C. L. REMOND read an account of the rescue of the slave Jerry, at Syracuse, and commented thereon.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS addressed the meeting, going at length into the argument in favour of forcible resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law.

CHARLES C. BUREEIGH followed Mr. Douglass, agreeing with him in advocating a spirited resistance to this diabolical law, but was opposed to physical violence and bloodshed, in all cases whatever, and went into a powerful argument to show them to be wrong in principle, and impolitic in practice.

The discussion was very interesting on both sides, and must have lessened the regard for the Fugitive Slave Law of any present who might be friendly to it, and heighten the hostility of its foes.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The following resolution was presented by Charles C. Burleigh, and adopted by the meeting.

Resolved, That while we do not approve of an appeal to bloody violence, even in resisting the infamous and atrocious wickedness of the Fugitive Slave Law, and cannot but deplore the shedding of even a slave-hunter's blood, we can and must admire the generous disinterestedness, and courageous heroism displayed by the noble coloured men at Christiana, in defence of their unprotected brothers, and moreover, we believe, that however at variance with our views of policy and Christian duty their course may have been, it was fully in accordance with the well settled principle of the law of the land, which authorizes every man to defend and gather his friends if need be, to help him defend his home—which it calls his castle—against all attempts to enter it contrary to his will, by any person or persons whatsoever, not excepting even the legal service of any merely civil process.

The following preamble and resolution were handed to the Business Committee, and through them presented to the meeting—the discussion was had upon them.

Whereas, our Ancestors, feeling themselves oppressed by the government of Great Britain, and, after many unsuccessful trials to obtain redress of their grievances, did, by their representatives, on the 4th of July, 1776, declare themselves to be, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, for the reasons then set forth in said declaration, and successfully maintained the same; and it is believed that the people even at the present day are nearly unanimous in the opinion that they were right in so doing; and whereas we, the people of the Northern or so called Free States, have had our rights and liberties trampled under foot, in various ways, by the Slave Power, and have tried to obtain redress of our wrongs, without success, and injuries unnumbered and far more intolerable and insulting have been heaped upon us than even Great Britain imposed; therefore,

Resolved, That the time has fully come, when we of the Northern or Free States ought to unite and declare another Independence, and thereby free ourselves from all participation in Slaveholding.

The subjects presented for the consideration of the people were full of interest, and of the first importance.

There were but few persons in attendance from the country, and some of our Anti-Slavery friends in the city were unusually occupied at this time, so that the special business of the society suffered some on the account. We had attentive audiences during the day, and a crowded hall in the evenings. The speeches were able and interesting, and we trust some good has been accomplished.

GEO. L. CLARKE, President.
JOHN L. CLARKE, Secretary, pro tem.

Communications.

ANTI-SLAVERY AT GRASSDALE

MR. EDITOR: The hitherto quiet and apathetic Anti-Slavery good people of Grassdale were disturbed in their ease-loving luke-warmness in the cause of the slave, by a lecture from Miss Sally Holley (daughter of Myron Holley, and recently a graduate of Oberlin). With breathless interest they listened while the fair speaker portrayed, with elegant diction and fervid eloquence, the wrongs of American Slavery, the wicked unfaithfulness of the American Church, and the hypocritical pretensions to love of liberty of the people and government of the United States.

At the close of the lecture it was suggested, by an aged pioneer Settler of Grassdale, at whose hospitable mansion the eloquent lecturer was a guest, that a collection be taken up in her behalf. While the hats were passing round, General Gruff, who so valiantly assaulted Dr. Hudson in the same house, some five summers past, for advancing the same doctrines, now rose up and motioned for an expression of thanks by the audience for the pleasure of listening to the able lecture that evening. The General was reminded by the aged veteran above alluded to of his onslaught on Dr. Hudson. The General was somewhat choked a moment, but, recovering his wonted valour, stammered a reply.

However, the motion for thanks was carried unanimously: whereupon, the courageous General addressed some enquiries to the democratic nominee for Assembly from this district, desiring his opinions of the (as he termed it) odious and cursed Fugitive Slave Law. The cautious and collared democrat maintained a most dignified silence to such an unusual catechising from such a distinguished quarter; a silence ensued expecting an answer; but it came not; when the pioneer of Grassdale moved an expression of disfavour by the audience of this famous lower law, by a rising. It was responded to, and nearly all arose. A voice was heard, "look here, Squire, I'm down." It proceeded from a most violent Hunker, who even got down on the floor to testify his lickspittle propensity to save the Union. The nominee maintained his specific gravity by haughtily keeping his seat. After this, a distinguished M. D. of Grassdale (a free soil democrat) enquired of Miss Holley if it was convenient for her to address the people of Grassdale again. An affirmative response was given, and Saturday next at eve was named as most convenient; where upon, it was motioned and carried unanimously that Miss Holley would address a Grassdale meeting again.

On Saturday evening your correspondent was not present, but understood that the fair speaker again lectured, but, on account of a severe storm, to a rather thin attendance. On Sunday, at 3 o'clock, for the third time, Miss Holley lectured to the Grassdalians. At the close of the lecture, a collection again was taken, and commendable liberality manifested the satisfaction of the hearers; hereupon, the General, in a few remarks, complimented the speaker in high terms; he concluded by politely inviting Miss Holley to visit Grassdale again, and lecture. The aged pioneer followed in a few enthusiastic remarks, wishing God speed to the objects of the mission of Miss Holley, and the meeting dispersed. So much for Grassdale in the cause of the slave. More anon.

Yours, T. L.

Miscellaneous Items.

TWENTY-THREE papers in Virginia have hoisted the Fillmore flag.

—APPROPRIATE MOTTO.—Truair & Co. of Syracuse, N. Y. have issued the first number of an abolition paper with the significant motto "*Go it Jerry!*"

—MAINE LIQUOR LAW.—In all the States of New-England and some of the Middle, Western and Southern States, there will be efforts to pass the Maine Liquor Law.

—A SLAVER, under Genoese colours, was taken by the British steamer Rifleman, on the coast of Africa with six slaves on board, sent to Gibraltar as a prize, manned by her capturers, and arrived there safely on the 25th ult.

—REV. DR. DEWEY.—Washington papers state that Rev. Dr. Dewey will ere long settle over a Unitarian Church in that city. It is proposed to invite Dr. Dewey to repeat in Washington the lectures he is now delivering before the Lowell Institute.

—PREACHING IN THE STREET.—The Presbytery of New York have adopted an earnest resolution commending the practice of preaching in the streets to those who cannot be brought into the house erected for public worship.

—FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.—We learn from the Vincennes (Indiana) *Gazette* that Judge Denning, of Illinois, in the case of a negro recently arrested and brought before him as a fugitive slave on a writ of habeas corpus, decided that the Fugitive Slave Law was unconstitutional, and therefore discharged the supposed runaway. Much excitement has been occasioned by this decision.

—MARRYING A WIFE'S SISTER.—The subject of marrying a Wife's Sister came up before the Philadelphia Synod at its late meeting. One of the ministers of the New Castle Presbytery had solemnized a marriage of this kind. His Presbytery dismissed the subject without disciplinary action. One member complained to the Synod, and the Synod with a disclaimer against a constructive approval of such marriages, sustained the course taken by the Presbytery.

—THE "AGITATION" JUST BEGUN.—*The Tribune* closes an article in relation to the late political campaign, with an admonition to the Union Safety Committee, that if they persist in their efforts to silence free discussion on the Slavery question, the "agitation" has just commenced.

We can furnish the priests of the new deity worshipped in New York, with another piece of information for their comfort. The people of the country have seen the last "Cotton" ticket formed in that city, that will run without provoking reprisals in the "rural districts." It is a game that two can play at, as "Cotton" will find to its cost, in the next contest. Nothing but the Canal prevented the whole West from breaking loose in the election just passed; and even as it was, they were with difficulty restrained on both sides. The unfurling of another "Cotton" banner in the city, will be the signal for a general revolt in the country.—*Western State Journal.*

—HORRIBLE MURDER BY NEGROES.—A young lady was brutally murdered recently by some inhuman wretches in the neighbourhood of Sandy Creek, in the parish of Baton Rouge, La. A negro named Riley, and a young negress, about fourteen or fifteen years of age, were taken up, tried, confessed the crime, and sentenced to be hung on Monday. The negroes, in their confession, implicated two white men as the instigators of the bloody deed. The report is that one of the white men accused was enamoured of the young lady, who refused to marry him, whereupon he determined to wreak upon her his fiendish reveuge, and, by threats and promises, prevailed upon his negroes to waylay her, as she was passing from her home to a neighbour's, near the Creek, where her mangled corpse was found submerged beneath the weight of a heavy log, with the apron of the condemned negress about her neck, it having been used to strangle her. The white men accused have left the parish, *although they cannot be condemned on negro evidence.*

—RECEPTION OF THE HUNGARIANS BY THE MAYOR OF NEW YORK.—On Wednesday afternoon, of last week a deputation of the Hungarian Exiles, now staying at the Irving House, accompanied by Assistant Surgeon Hamilton, of the Mississippi, and Aldermen Franklin and Miller, visited Mayor Kingsland for the purpose of expressing their gratitude upon arriving in a land of freedom. The Mayor received them in the Governor's Room, City Hall, where Colonel Berzenczey, who speaks English with tolerable fluency, made an extempore address which was full of pathos, and drew forth at several points the spontaneous applause of the hearers.

—KIDNAPPING AND RECLAMATION.—Columbus (O.) papers learn from Governor Wood, that one of the Polly negroes who was kidnapped some months ago from Lawrence County, O., has returned, after undergoing his trial in Kentucky for his freedom. Gov Wood, who took a deep interest in reclaiming these kidnapped negroes, speaks highly of the Kentuckians in this trial. The kidnapper had escaped, or he would have been severely dealt with—so a Kentucky letter says.

—EASTERN SCHOOL MA'AMS.—Governor Slade has just imported a fresh supply of school-mistresses to Chicago, from Down East. The Chicago *Democrat* says, "that school-ma'am business is one of the best things for the West that ever happened. It drains the East of its surplus female population, and the very best portion of it too. It also furnishes our young men with the very best of wives. And no sooner are they married, than they send home for their sisters, cousins, &c.,&c. It is often the case that one of these Yankee school-mistresses is the means of settling a whole township, and thus of building a school-house and filling it with scholars."

—LONG ISLAND COTTON.—It has not been known until within a very short time that cotton could be raised at all in this part of the country; but this season, cotton equal to the best Sea Island, has been raised on Long Island, by Mr. A. P. RICKER, of Newtown, and it is believed that it can be made a profitable crop by a little attention. Tobacco has also been raised on the island with satisfactory results, and it is not among the impossibilities that this section of our State may not, eventually, furnish large quantities of these articles for the market. Mr. R. intends, another season, we understand, to make quite a crop of cotton and tobacco.—*Times.*

—MR. GIDDINGS' REPLY TO THE FREE PRESBYTERIAN.—Jefferson, Oct. 28.—Editors True Democrat:—Your paper of the 22d, containing an extract from the "*Free Presbyterian*," has been read, and I notice you call on me for explanation.

I was a member of the Presbytery at its April session. A resolution separating our connection with the General Assembly, (New School) was introduced and and discussed. I was then of opinion that we had better retain our connection until the meeting of the General Assembly in May, with the hope that some steps would then be taken to free that body from the crimes of slave-breeding, and of trafficing in the image of God. I thought that body would be brought to see the deep stigma, the transcendant iniquity of holding fellowship with men whose hands are actually stained with human gore. I felt that we might, perhaps, be instrumental in bringing about its reformation. But it has taken a position more firmly on the hill of oppression than that heretofore occupied; and I have now no hesitation in saying that it is the duty of every Presbytery, and every Church, to withdraw all fellowship from a religious association whose members are permitted to breed mankind for the market, and to traffic in the bodies of women.

The time is near at hand, indeed, has now come, when the Church of Christ must purify itself from such Heaven provoking crimes, or become a stench in the nostrils of all good men. Very respectfully,

J. R. GIDDINGS.

—A WOMAN named Trout was committed to the jail of Lebanon, Pa, last week, on a charge of whipping to death a little girl three years old, to whom she was step mother. The child fell dead from her hands. Does negro slavery produce worse cases than this?—*Boston Post.*

Not often. But it produces a great many very like it. For one such case in the Free States, twenty are on record in the Slave States. Cruel or insane persons like this woman Trout, are kept within bounds, generally speaking, when dealing with white persons. But in the South they can do pretty much what they please with their black dependants, who are prohibited by law from resisting or defending themselves in any way, and whose natural protectors, fathers, husbands, kinsmen, &c., can afford them no help. You are ready enough to believe that a white child was whipped to death. If the story were told of a black child in the South, it would be pronounced impossible, and set down as an "abolition lie."—*Boston Commonwealth.*

—MR. BENTON'S FORTHCOMING WORK.—Respecting Mr. Benton's historical work, some very erroneous reports have been circulated. It is not all written yet, and will be laid aside until his return to Washington next autumn. He will then carefully revise every sentence he has written, and go on to the completion of the work. It shall go before the world, he remarks, with no imperfections that the utmost patience and labour will enable him to remove. He is determined it shall be in all respects worthy a place among the standard histories of the present age.—*Washington Telegraph.*

—MORE FRUITS OF THE FUGITIVE BILL.—Two coloured citizens, Bulah and Johnson, who have been residents of Jordon, the former about three years, parted with the sympathizing citizens thereof Tuesday morning for the King's Dominion. Bulah is an eminent Christian minister. There are no more respected people in our village. They went under the counsel of Judge Conkling, "*to move to some other country if they were not safe in their own.*" This is the third time that Bulah has purchased a house and lot, and been chased from it by slave-cathers.

On Monday evening the citizens of Jordan met at the Methodist Church to express their indignation at the wrong and outrage inflicted on these men. I have never seen greater excitement and determination. The meeting advised Mr. Bulah to stay, and publicly resolved that they would arm him and arm themselves, and stand by him at all hazards, and to the last extremity.

Mr. Bulah has an interesting family (his wife a member of the Methodist Church), and they were all in affliction. He said that he felt so insecure that he could not sleep nights, and could not endure his insecurity. He therefore determined to leave the pleasant home he had just paid the last purchase money for, and took his passage to Canada. We made up a pretty large purse to help him along. I really believe that our citizens would shoot a Marshal, Attorney, or President, as soon as a dog, if they put their guilty hands on either of these men. And if that is treason, let it be treason.—*Carson League.* THOMAS L. CARSON.

—THE ESCAPED CHRISTIANA WITNESSES.—Nothing has been learned yet of the whereabouts of the witnesses in the Christiana Treason case. It was stated Peter Woods escaped, but this is incorrect. John Cooke was the man who stepped out. On Tuesday morning, in the United States Circuit Court, the United States District Attorney, J. W. Ashmead, stated to the Court that he had heard of the escape of two important witnesses in the Christiana treason and murder case—from the Debtor's Apartment of the Moyamensing Prison, and that the Marshal had not received notice of such escape until more than twenty hours had elapsed. He therefore moved the Court that the Marshal be directed to provide a more safe and suitable place for the detention of the remaining witnesses, than the Debtor's Apartment. Or if the Court think that the place will be sufficiently secure if the Marshal shall appoint two watchmen, one to remain during the night and the other during the day, then that the Court will direct the Marshal to make such appointments. The order was accordingly made. Mr. Ashmead then asked for a writ of *habeas corpus*, directed to James McClaskey, keeper of the Debtor's Apartment, ordering him to bring forth the bodies of Washington and Cook, the two escaped witnesses—the writ to be made returnable on Friday morning next, at 11 o'clock. The writ was granted.

—DRAYTON AND SAYRES.—Since October, 1850, we have received, in contributions from various sources, the aggregate sum of $120, to be applied to the wants of Drayton and Sayres, confined in Washington jail. This amount was exhausted a month ago; and they have requested us to say, that contributions to make their situations comfortable during this winter will be thankfully received. These unfortunate men have been lying in prison for three years, separated from their wives and children; and the law requires that they should there remain till the heavy fine imposed on them shall have been paid. Their patience and good conduct have won for them the respect of the keepers of the prison, who, we take pleasure in saying, appear to be kind-hearted and considerate, as well as faithful officers. But it is a terrible thing for a man in full health, in the prime of his days, with the command of all his faculties, to be shut up, year after year, within the cold walls of a prison, counting day by day the sad echoes of his footfall, as he paces the stone pavement, or looking forth longingly through the iron-barred windows upon the restless sea of life rolling around him; and when that man is a husband and a father, and has lost his liberty only through an act which nothing but the stern necessities of a wrong institution makes an offence against the community sustaining it, every humane mind must regard him with peculiar interest and compassion.

We hope the friends of humanity will remember that if they cannot visit those in prison, they can minister to their wants.—*National Era.*

—VIRGINIA QUALIFICATION.—Messrs. Summers and Johnson, the rival candidates for Governor of Virginia, are both residents of the western part of that State, where slaves are scarce, and 'the peculiar institution' is not regarded as the inestimable blessing which the Quattlebums and Commanders of South Carolina would wish to set forth as the common faith of 'the South.' Mr. Summers is on the record as a most sweeping advocate of Emancipation in the Constitutional Convention of 1832, and for that has been assailed as an Abolitionist by his political opponents in the eastern part of the State. This elicited a reply, wherein he repelled the charge of Abolition, declared himself a Virginian born, while his competitor came from the North, and a slaveholder, while his opponent owned few or no human cattle. This has called out in turn a friend and neighbour of Col. Johnson, who thus sets forth the soundness of that gentleman on the vital question:

"Col. Johnson moved into Harrison County in the year 1801, was then 14 *years of age*, and has resided in this County from that time to the present. Col. Johnson is now, and has been for upwards of 20 years, a slaveowner. Mr. Summers is wealthy. Col. Johnson is not, but by his industry has made a competence. Mr. Summers may, therefore, have more slaves than Col. Johnson. But Mr. Summers will in vain plead that he now owns slaves as an atonement for his past Abolition sentiments. It is true there are not many slaves in Harrison County; yet she is the largest slaveholding county in the northwest, and Col. Johnson is one among the largest slaveowners in the county. *He has at this time eight slaves at work upon his farm,*" *&c &c.*

There is much more of this, but we think the above sufficient to establish Col. Johnson's Orthodoxy and insure his election.—*Tribune.*

Marriages.

BINNEY—SAVAGE.—In Boston, Nov. 6, Mr. Amos Binney, to Harriet, daughter of Hon. James Savage.

TUKEY—HAYCOCK.—In Boston, November 11, by Rev. J. Banvard, Francis Tukey, Esq., City Marshal, to Mrs. Carsilla Haycock, of Boston.

WOLCOTT—FROTHINGHAM.—In Boston, 12th inst., by Rev. Chandler Robbins, J. Huntington Wolcott, to Harriet, daughter of Samuel Frothingham.

SHERWOOD—WILSON.—At Keene, N. H., on the 12th inst., by the Right Rev. Carleton Chase, Bishop of New Hampshire, John Sherwood, of New York, to Mary Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Hon. James Wilson, of New Hampshire.

VAIL—INMAN.—At Rahway, N. J., on the 12th inst., according to the order of the Society of Friends, William Vail, of the former place, and Lucy Inman, daughter of the late Henry Inman, of this city.

Deaths.

PATTISON.—At his residence, 761 Broadway, on Wednesday morning, 12th inst., Granville Sharpe Pattison, Professor of Anatomy in the University of New York, in the 60th year of his age.

BUTTERWORTH.—On Monday, the 17th inst., Maria Banyer, wife of John F. Butterworth, and daughter of William Jay.

MILLER.—In Auburn, N. Y., Hon. Elijah Miller, about 80—father-in-law of Ex-Governor Seward.

SNOW.—In Fitchburgh, Mass., Oct. 31st, Mrs. Mary Baldwin, wife of Benjamin Snow, Jr., and daughter of Mr. David Boutelle, aged 32 years.

Notices.

THE SIXTEENTH PENNSYLVANIA

ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

THE Fair will be held in December. The Managers appointed by the Female Anti-Slavery Society invite all those who are interested in the great cause to which their labours are devoted, to aid them in their work.

The times call loudly upon us for faithful and efficient effort. Let us be zealous and untiring in our endeavours to arouse those over whom we may have influence enough to give us their aid.

Anna M. Hopper,	Margaret A. Griscom,
Emma Parker,	Margaret Jones,
Janette Jackson,	Priscilla Lukens,
Rebecca Plumly,	Hannah L Stickney,
Maria M. Davis,	Mary T. Stickney,
Emily W. Taylor,	Clementine G. Ruby,
Mary Grew,	Margaretta Forten,
Sarah A. M'Kim,	Elizabeth Gay,
Sarah T. Child,	Elizabeth Davis,
Anna M. Child,	A. Matilda Remond,
Huldah Justice,	Gertrude K. Burleigh,
Sarah Pugh,	Sarah Tyndale,
Harriet D. Purvis,	Elizabeth Clendenin,
Elizabeth Carman,	Abby Kimber,
Mary Shaw,	Martha Kimber,
Sarah M. Douglass,	Evelina Suplee,

Esther Reckless.

Philadelphia, September, 1851.

MEETINGS IN HERKIMER COUNTY,

BY LEWIS FORD AND PARKER PILLSBURY, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

PARKER PILLSBURY, an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will attend meetings in Herkimer County as follows:

Rockton, Sat. evening and Sun., Nov. 29 and 30.				
Brockett's Bridge, Tues. and Wed., Decem.	2d	and	3d.
Salisbury Centre, Thurs. and Fri.,	"	4	"	5.
Norway, Sat. and Sun.,	"	6	"	7.
Cold Brook, Tues. and Wed.,	"	9	"	10.
Fairfield, Thurs. and Fri.,	"	11	"	12.

In places where two days are spent, the first meeting will invariably be in the evening of the first day.

FOURTH

WORCESTER ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

WILL be held in BRINLEY HALL, on *NEW YEAR'S WEEK*, commencing on TUESDAY EVENING, Dec. 30, and closing on FRIDAY EVENING, Jan. 2.

In renewing our claim upon every lover of the right, every friend of the oppressed, for aid and co-operation, we feel assured that no word of appeal can so arouse the conscience, or quicken the sympathy, as a consideration of the outrages which, during the past year, have again and again been perpetrated in our midst; legitimate fruits, as they are, of the systematic injustice toward one portion of God's children, which darkens and disgraces our country. Every individual should remember that he will be held responsible for the sin of Slavery, so far as his personal influence extends, unless that is exerted against the iniquitous system. Let, then, those who have hitherto satisfied themselves with a passive deprecation of its evils, worthily close the Old Year, and consecrate the New, by commencing a course of faithful and earnest Anti-Slavery action; while those already in the ranks, who entered upon the campaign well knowing that it would be long, and its victories, though sure, not lightly won, must hold themselves ready for renewed self-sacrifice, and patient, enduring toil. If the voices of freemen are ever to be raised in behalf of the slave, they should utter an availing protest now against the iniquity which triumphs in the land; and a helping hand should be extended toward any enterprise, however humble, which looks in the direction of Freedom. Our success in each previous year has clearly demonstrated the efficiency of Fairs, as a subordinate instrumentality, for the raising of funds, in furtherance of the great work of Emancipation; and the attractions we are this year enabled to offer, in the display of foreign goods, are unusually great, the

Miscellany.

NEGRO MERCHANTS IN AFRICA.

[From a little volume just published (says *The Evening Post*) in London, entitled "Trade and Travels in the Gulf of Guinea, Western Africa." The author, Mr. J. Smith, "having made several voyages to Western Africa, in the double capacity of surgeon and trading-captain (as the Africans style the agents of European merchants) to one of the first mercantile houses in England—and having been repeatedly brought in contact with a great number of the inhabitants on several occasions for many consecutive months—has acquired," he thinks, "some information, and witnessed some extraordinary scenes," worthy of being related to the English public.

The following is an interesting sketch of the manner in which trade is carried on between European ships and the Negroes of the African coast. It certainly puts the Negroes in a more respectable light as mercantile men than we had seen them ever represented in before.]

THE GUINEA CREDIT SYSTEM.

"Few things astonish a white man so much on a first visit to this place, on a trading expedition, as the amount of goods solicited by and entrusted to this people. With the utmost confidence a fellow nearly naked will ask you for three or four, or even five thousand pounds' worth of goods on credit, and individuals are often trusted to that amount. I have trusted more than one man goods, the returns of which were worth between two and three thousand pounds. Not one in ten, however, that asks for trust is worthy of credit to the amount of so many farthings. Some few of the chiefs are really splendid merchants. Hard in making their bargains, but strict in their payments, they approach very near in their commercial transactions to their brethren of Europe and the civilized parts of Asia and America. And they go about their business in a business-like manner. 'Capt. A or B,' a chief will say, 'I want some trust.' If you know that in the commercial sense of the word your customer is a good man, you will perhaps ask him when he means to pay you for any goods he may purchase, and what are his resources; and he is sure to preface anything he may have to say by asking, if he has not a good head and knows how to turn any goods with which you may entrust him to good account: and if he has not a good name among white men, and if he does not always meet his payments.

"Having admitted all that he says of himself to be true, he will inform you that he has so many canoes and so many slaves to man them, that he has several clever slaves to take command of the canoes and trade the goods in the interior, and that the only thing he wants is money (goods) to send to market. Trusting to any great amount, or even at all, depends entirely upon circumstances. If a trader have a good name and a large house, that is, numerous wives and slaves—pretty good criteria of his wealth—he may be trusted. But some of the young aspirants to commercial fame may as safely be trusted as great chiefs. To acquire wealth, he knows he must cultivate a good name, which makes him attentive to business and prompt in his payments. These men are easier to treat with than the wealthier merchants. * * Everything being prepared for the reception of goods, trade commences; every one being anxious to obtain goods on credit. If it be the first time you trade a ship, the chiefs and small traders approach the subject cautiously. They will apprise you of their great wealth and importance and the large amount of business they did when you were captain, surgeon, or clerk of such and such a ship; how well they paid their debts without detaining the ship a single day—the rascals perhaps never paid at all—what very goods friends you used to be; perhaps ask how the parrot or monkey is they presented to you on a previous voyage; insinuate that they mean you would bring a ship to trade *that* voyage, you are such a clever fellow, and 'savvy black man's fashion, and have told their women and boys so.'

"After a long palaver to this effect, they ask you to trust them: if you hesitate, they feel certain of success, and ask for a large amount, four times more than they know you will let them have, supposing that after asking so large an amount you will never refuse them a considerable quantity. The goods being examined, a bargain struck, and a *book* signed to the effect that if you are not paid by a certain time, they shall make certain forfeits, and the goods being paid to them, they go away in great glee to spend the evening in jollification. The staple articles of trade are Manchester cottons, guns, gunpowder, tobacco, rum, and cowries: and besides these there are numerous other articles of commerce taken out, of less importance, as iron bars, copper and brass rods, beads, knives, hatchets, soap, earthenware, crystal, jars, iron pots, horns, pearl buttons, silk handkerchiefs, &c. &c. * * When you have sold all the goods that remained after giving trust, you send up the lofty masts of the ship that were lowered after mooring, as a signal that you have done trading, and are now waiting for the returns for your trust; and this is the time that your real trouble commences.

"Some of the people that made such splendid promises of trading with you when you first entered the river, have never been near your ship since they were trusted, but have been trading with other ships on ready money terms with your goods. This is exceedingly vexatious; by giving credit, you perhaps lose a good customer, and run the risk of losing your goods into the bargain, or at least being put to great trouble and anxiety, and if you do not give credit, the great merchants will do no business with you. Your best friends now leave off trading with other ships, and send you the oil as it comes down from Eboe, Quaw, &c. If any to whom you have given trust be trading with other ships, with your goods, in order to turn the capital over as often as possible, or their canoes have been detained at the various oil markets, the work of dunning commences in earnest, and to convince them that you are really in earnest, you perhaps visit them three times a day; your errand, if not always alluded to, is perfectly understood. 'What, come again, captain,' a trader has said to me the third visit, 'that time it be cockerapeak, I look your face; that time sun stand for top (noon), I look your face: and now that time man want to go moona (sleep), I look your face again: what palaver this be?' 'Trust, my friend, I want my money. What think you tell me that time you get my money?' 'You no tell me I cannot stand (wait) one day for your side (on your account) and don't you see what way my ship masts stand, and by-and-by my people must cry for chop.' If they promise to pay you on a certain day, you may generally depend upon them. If you are very much tried, you sometimes lose or affect to lose all patience, and call them ugly names, as niggers, bushmen, &c., and threaten to 'make book,' and send it to all the white men to inform them that they are rogues and not to be trusted, and to tell the merchants in England to caution their agents against having anything to do with them. If they have the means of paying, this sort of language will generally have the desired effect, but you, like themselves, must study the characters you have to deal with, and treat them accordingly. * * Occasionally you are obliged to man your boats with white men, and proceed a few miles up the creeks during the night, and wait for canoes coming down with their cargoes, and seize those which belong to your debtors, and tow them to the ship. I have seen canoe-men so alarmed, on pulling suddenly upon them, as to jump overboard and make for the bush, supposing that they were surprised by an enemy; but as soon as they found we were Englishmen, they returned. This is dangerous, both on account of the frequency of accidents and risk to health. I have returned on board in a morning, after laying out in a boat all night, so disfigured with being stung with moschetoes, as hardly to be recognisable.

"When all other means fail, your last resource is to watch your debtor till he comes on the river to visit some ship, if you cannot induce him to come on board, and make him prisoner. Then a palaver commences in earnest. Locked up with him in the trade-room, he first assails you with a volley of abusive epithets, and perhaps threatens to kill you the first time you go on shore. Above all things you must keep yourself cool, and not exhibit the slightest symptom of fear. Finding that blustering and teazing will not induce you to let him go, he goes on another tack. Coaxing, flattery, and 'sweet-mouth' (fair promises), are equally unavailing, he cannot be allowed to leave till the last farthing is paid. He then tries to excite your sympathy by tears, and debases himself by falling upon his knees before you to entreat you to let him go, and he will pay you every 'flint' yesterday, or to-morrow—the terms are synonymous. His wives, children, and slaves will laugh at and despise him; he will lose caste with his countrymen and credit with white men. When he finds that nothing he can say will avail, and that he must pay his debts before being released, he will perhaps burst into laughter, and tell you, you are all 'same devil,' and order the head slave that accompanies him to go to the beach and bring you on your due. A few hours after a palaver of this kind, I have gone ashore, and have been treated in the kindest manner possible, without the disagreeable circumstances having been alluded to."

THEIR SECRETIVENESS.

"The natives, men, women, and children, are secret, even concerning things of the most trivial import, to a degree quite astonishing and incomprehensible to Europeans, particularly to Englishmen and Frenchmen. Perhaps the first word a child is taught to lisp is *anemea*, I don't know. It is a futile task to attempt to extort any fact, even from a child or drunken person, contrary to his wish. What ideas you do obtain from notions of good, evil, God, &c., will be from a chief or chief-priest, both of whom are in some measure beyond the consequences of tattling. I once interrogated a boy whom I caught in the act of stealing a piece of cloth, as to what were his prospects in the next world, in the event of my causing him to be thrown overboard for the sharks to devour. 'Anemea,' was the answer. 'What,' said I, 'don't you know in what country you will live after you leave this?' 'Anemea, how should I know? I be poor boy; go ask gentleman.' I thought I would ask a gentleman, or chief, who coolly replied that the Ju-ju man (priest) knew everything, and that *he* was not a Ju-ju man, a fact he knew I was well acquainted with. I then applied to the Ju-ju man, who pleaded that he was not a gentleman, but a poor devil of a Ju-ju man, and consequently knew nothing; and that I had better give him a piece of cloth to make Ju-ju palaver for my safe arrival in England; at the same time very respectfully referred me to 'gentleman' who knew everything. Now this reservedness did not proceed from having no notion, though perhaps not a very definite one, of a future state, but from a disinclination to let one know anything on any subject. Then another great difficulty in the way of acquiring or imparting information, or of inducing them to adopt our more civilized customs, is the most unbounded influence of the priesthood, who exercise the power of life and death to a fearful extent. For a very trifling infringement of their ecclesiastical laws (which are so blended with civil laws, that it is an easy matter to find occasion of offence), a chief is ordered to proceed some four or five months' journey thither and back, into the interior, to consult the Grand Ju-ju, as he is called, to the chief's great hindrance to business, and at no trifling expense and trouble. And what is worse than all, should he not come down with a handsome douceur in the shape of English goods to both the priests at home and the Grand Ju-ju in the interior, he need never expect to find his way home again. Innovation is dreaded by the priests. They have wit enough to know that if a slight advancement only in civilization were made, it would rapidly progress, and their priestly power and arrogance would speedily be thrown off. I will just relate a little circumstance in illustration of their disinclination to adopt European customs. Observing a large guana crawl out of a hole in the mud floor of a king's sitting-room, while conversing with him about a *dash* or present I was to take him next voyage, I offered to bring him a quantity of flags, or bricks, to lay the floor. He seemed pleased with the proposal, and after musing a short time, replied, he would consult the priest and tell me the result. On calling next day he informed me that Ju-ju would not allow it. This is a small matter in itself, but sufficiently indicative of the power the priests exercise over even their kings. Being subject to rheumatism, he is very kindly permitted to use a piece of board as a footstool, to protect him from the damp during the rainy season."

A NEGRO MYTH.

"At the factory of an English trader, a mafouka-machanga-man, a superior order of magistrate, joined us at the breakfast table, of whom I learnt how the cock fell into sad disgrace, by occasioning one-half of the inhabitants of the world to be black, while the other half is white. The conversation on this subject was in substance as follows: 'What will you take, mafouka-machanga; here's fish, fowl and goat, cassavi and bread; sweet tombo, coffee, and rum-and-water. 'Part a part' (a little of each), 'but what kind of fowl that a be, a cock or a hen?' 'I don't know, it makes no matter, I suppose.' 'Oh but it makes a great deal of matter—if he be a cock, I cannot eat him.' 'Why so?' 'Because them cock be d—— rascal.' 'How is this—what harm has he done you?' 'A great deal of harm, the rascal; had it not been for him, I should have been white man, all same yourself.' 'What has the cock to do with your being a black man?' 'Everything.'—'Come tell us all about it.' 'Well I must. You see, when God Almighty first made man, he had only one day to make *them* in. He began early one morning, and worked hard all day, very hard, for he wanted to make a great many. When it was close for night, he ordered them all to stand up in a row, that he might see how they looked. Well, he examined them all over, and thought they would do very well, as far as shape went; but he had made them all *black*, and he thought they would look better if they were *white*; so he turned-to to white-wash them, and white-washed very hard all night, that he might get them finished before the time he was limited to had expired. Well, when he had got just half through his work, the cock crew, and it was morning, so he was obliged to leave the rest unwhite-washed. If it had not been for him, God would have finished them, and every man would be white. This is the reason why one-half of the world be white men, and the other half black men, and why I cannot eat them d—— rascal that would not wait till God had finished!' (Early morn is expressed all over this coast by cockerapeak (the cock speaks), and it is the hour of rising.) The mafouka-machanga cooled his ire with half a tumbler of raw rum; and the cook being sent for, who assured us it was a hen, he made a hearty breakfast on fowl and the other good things without more ado."

BEN JONSON'S MOTHER.

In Hartshorn Lane, near Charing Cross, about the year 1580, dwelt Mr. Thomas Fowler, a master bricklayer. He had married, in 1575, Mrs. Margaret Johnson, a widow, and had become the protector of her little boy, Benjamin, then about a year and a half old.

Benjamin is now in his sixth year. He duly attends the parish school in St. Martin's Church; for his father was "a grave minister of the Gospel," and his mother is anxious that her only child, poor although he must be, shall lack no advantages of education. We see the sturdy boy daily pacing to school, through the rough and miry way of that half-rural district. In his play-hours he is soon in the fields, picking blackberries in Hedge Lane, or flying his kite by the Windmill in St. Giles's. His father-in-law is a plain, industrious, trusty man—not rich enough to undertake any of the large works which the luxurious wants of the town present; and oftimes interfered with, in the due course of his labour, by royal proclamations against the increase of houses, which are rigidly enforced when a humble man desires to build a cottage. But young Ben has found friends. To the parish school sometimes comes Master Camden; and he observes the bold boy, always at the head of his class, and not unfrequently having his "clear and fair skin" disfigured by combats with his dirty companions, who litter about the alleys of St. Martin's Lane. The boy has won good Master Camden's heart; and so, in due time, he proposes to remove him to Westminster School.

Let us look at the Shadow of his Mother, as she debates this question with her husband, at their frugal supper. "The boy must earn his living," says the bricklayer. "He is strong enough to be of help to me. He can mix the mortar; he will soon be able to carry the hod. Learning! stuff! he has had learning enow, for all the good it will do him."

"Thomas Fowler," responds the mother, "If I wear my fingers to the bone, my boy shall never carry the hod. Master Camden, a good man, and a learned, will pay for his schooling. Shall we not give him his poor meals and his pallet-bed? Master Camden says he will make his way. I owe it to the memory of him who is gone, that Benjamin shall be a scholar, and perhaps a minister." "Yes; and be persecuted for his opinions, as his father was. These are ticklish times, Margaret—the lowest are the safest. Ben is passionate, and obstinate, and will quarrel for a straw. Make him a scholar, and he becomes Papist or Puritan—the quiet way is not for the like of him. He shall be apprenticed to me, wife, and earn his daily bread safely and honestly." Night after night is the debate renewed. But the mother triumphs. Ben does go to Westminster School. He has hard fare at home; he has to endure many a taunt as he sits apart in the Abbey cloisters, intent upon his task. But Camden is his instructor and his friend. The bricklayer's boy fights his way to distinction.

Look again at the Shadow of that proud Mother, as after three or four anxious years, she hears of his advancement. He has an exhibition. He is to remove to Cambridge. Her Benjamin must be a bishop. Thomas Fowler is incredulous—and he is not generous: "When Benjamin leaves this roof, he must shift for himself, wife." The mother drops one tear when her boy departs—the leathern purse which holds her painful savings is in Benjamin's pocket.

It is a summer night of 1590, when Benjamin Jonson walks into the poor house of Hartshorn Lane. He is travel-stained and weary. His jerkin is half hidden beneath a dirty cloak. That jerkin, which looked so smart in a mother's eye when last they parted, is strangely shrunk—or, rather, has not the spare boy grown into a burly youth, although the boy's jerkin must still do service? The bricklayer demands his business—the wife falls upon his neck. And well may the bricklayer know him not. His face is "pimpled;" hard work and irregular living have left their marks upon him. The exhibition has been insufficient for his maintenance. His spirit has been sorely wounded. The scholar of sixteen thinks he should prefer the daily bread which is to be won by the labour of his hands, to the hunger for which pride has no present solace. Benjamin Johnson becomes a bricklayer.

And now, for two years, has the mother—her hopes wholly gone, her love only the same—to bear up under the burden of conflicting duties. The young man duly works at the most menial tasks of his business. He has won his way to handle a trowel; but he is not conformable in all things. "Wife," says Thomas Fowler, "that son of yours will never prosper. Cannot he work—and cannot he eat his meals—without a Greek book in his vest? This very noon must he seat himself at dinner hour, in the shade of the wall in Chancery Lane, on which he had been labouring; and then comes a reverend Bencher and begins discourse with him; and Ben shows him his book—and they talk as if they were equal. Margaret, he is too grand for me; he is above his trade." "Shame on ye, husband! Does he not work, honestly and deftly? and will you grudge him his books?" "He haunts the playhouses; he sits in the pit—and cracks nuts—and hisses or claps hands, in a way quite unbecoming a bricklayer's apprentice. Margaret, I fear he will come to no good." One night there is a fearful quarrel. It is late when Benjamin returns home. In silence and darkness, the son and mother meet. She is resolved. "Benjamin, my son, my dear son, we will endure this life no longer. There is a sword—it was your grandfather's. A gentleman wore it; a gentleman shall still wear it. Go to the Low Countries. Volunteers are called for. There is an expedition to Ostend. Take with you these few crowns, and God prosper you."

Another year, and Benjamin's campaign is ended. At the hearth in Hartshorn Lane sits Margaret Fowler—in solitude. There will be no more strife about her son. Death has settled the controversy. Margaret is very poor. Her trade is unprosperous; for the widow is defrauded by her servants. "Mother, there is my grandfather's sword—it has done service; and now, I will work for you." "How, my son?" "I will be a bricklayer again." We see the Shadow of the Mother as she strives to make her son content. He has no longer "the lime and mortar" hands with which it was his after-fate to be reproached; but he bestows the master's eye upon his mother's workmen. Yet he has hours of leisure. There is a chamber in the old house now filled with learned books. He reads, and he writes, as his own pleasure dictates. "Mother," he one day says, "I wish to marry." "Do so, my son; bring your wife home; we will dwell together." So a few years roll on. He and his wife weep

"Mary, the daughter of their youth."

But there is an event approaching which sets aside sorrow. "Daughter," says the ancient lady, "we must to the Rose Playhouse to-night. There is a new play to be acted, and that play is Benjamin's." "Yes, mother, he has had divers moneys already. Not much, I wot, seeing the labour he has given to this 'Comedy of Humours'—five shillings, and ten shillings, and once, a pound." "No matter, daughter, he will be famous; I always knew he would be famous." A calamity clouds that fame. The playwriter has quarrels on every side. In the autumn of 1598, Philip Henslowe, the manager of "the Lord Admiral's men," writes thus to his son-in-law, Alleyn: "Since you were with me, I have lost one of my company, which hurteth me greatly—that is Gabriel; for he is slain in Hegsden Fields, by the hands of Benjamin Jonson, bricklayer." Twenty years after, the great dramatist, the laureat, thus relates the story to Drummond: "Being appealed to the fields, he had killed his adversary, which had him hurt in the arm, and whose sword was ten inches longer than his; for the which he was imprisoned, and almost at the gallows." There is the proud Shadow of a Roman Matron hovering about his cell, in those hours when the gallows loomed darkly in the future.

The scholar and the poet has won his fame.—Bricklayer no longer, Ben is the companion of the illustrious Shakespeare hath "wit-combats" with him; Camden and Selden try his metal, in learned controversies; Raleigh and Beaumont, and Donne, and Fletcher, exchange with him "words of subtle flame" at "The Mermaid." But a new trouble arises—James is come to the throne. Hear Jonson's account of a remarkable transaction: "He was delated by Sir James Murray to the King, for writing something against the Scots, in a play, 'Eastward Ho,' and voluntarily imprisoned himself, with Chapman and Marston, who had written it amongst them. The report was that they should then have had their ears cut, and noses." They are at length released. We see the shadow of a banquet, which the poet gave to his friends in commemoration of his deliverance. There is a joyous company of immortals at that feast. There, too, is that loving and faithful Mother. The wine-cups are flowing; there are song and jest, eloquence, and the passionate earnestness with which such friends speak when the heart is opened. But there is one, whose Shadow we now see, more passionate and more earnest than any of that company. She rises, with a full goblet in her hand: "Son, I drink to thee. Benjamin, my beloved son, thrice I drink to thee. See ye this paper: one grain of the subtle drug which it holds is death. Even as we now pledge each other in rich canary, would I have pledged thee in lusty strong poison, had thy sentence taken execution. Thy shame would have been my shame, and neither of us should have lived after it."

"She was no churl," says Benjamin.—*Dickens' Household Words.*

COLERIDGE'S TALK.

"The good man, he was now getting old, towards sixty perhaps; and gave you the idea of a life that had been full of sufferings; a life heavy-laden, half-vanquished, still swimming painfully in seas of manifold physical and other bewilderment. Brow and head were round, and of massive weight, but the face was flabby and irresolute. The deep eyes, of a light hazel, were as full of sorrow as of inspiration; confused pain looked mildly from them, as in a kind of mild astonishment. The whole figure and air, good and amiable otherwise, might be called flabby and irresolute: expressive of weakness under possibility of strength. He hung loosely on his limbs, with knees bent, and stooping attitude; in walking, he rather shuffled than decisively stept; and a lady once remarked, he never could fix which side of the garden-walk would suit him best, but continually shifted, in corkscrew fashion, and kept trying both. A heavy-laden, high-aspiring, and surely much-suffering man. His voice, naturally soft and good, had contracted itself into a plaintive snuffle and singsong; he spoke as if preaching—you would have said, preaching earnestly and also hopelessly the weightiest things. I still recollect his 'object' and 'subject,' terms of continual recurrence in the Kantean province; and how he sung and snuffled them into 'om-m mject' and 'sum-m-mject,' with a kind of solemn shake or quaver, as he rolled along. No talk in his century or in any other, could be more surprising.

* * * * * * *

"To sit as a passive bucket and be pumped into, whether you consent or not, can in the long-run be exhilarating to no creature: how eloquent soever the flood of utterance that is descending. But if it be withal a confused unintelligible flood of utterance, threatening to submerge all known landmarks of thought, and drown the world and you! I have heard Coleridge talk, with eager musical energy, two stricken hours, his face radiant and moist, and communicate no meaning whatsoever to any individual of his hearers—certain of whom, I for one, still kept eagerly listening in hope; the most had long before given up, and formed (if the room were large enough) secondary humming groups of their own. He began anywhere; you put some question to him, made some suggestive observation; instead of answering this, or decidedly setting out towards answer of it, he would accumulate formidable apparatus, logical swim-bladders, transcendental life-preservers, and other precautionary and vehiculatory gear, for setting out; perhaps did at last get under way—but was swiftly solicited, turned aside by the glance of some radiant new game on this hand or that, into new courses; and over into new; and before long into all the Universe, where it was uncertain what game you would catch, or whether any.

"His talk, alas, was distinguished, like himself, by irresolution; it disliked to be troubled with conditions, abstinences, definite fulfilments—loved to wander at its own sweet will, and make its auditor and his claims and humble wishes a mere passive bucket for itself! He had knowledge about many things and topics, much curious reading; but generally all topics led him, after a pass or two, into the high seas of theosophic philosophy, the hazy infinitude of Kantean transcendentalism, with its 'sum-m-mjecta' and 'om-m-mjecta.' Sad enough; for with such indolent impatience of the claims and ignorances of others, he had not the least talent for explaining this or any thing unknown to them; and you swam and fluttered in the mistiest wide unintelligible deluge of things, for most part in a rather profitless uncomfortable manner.

"Glorious islets, too, I have seen rise out of the haze; but they were few, and soon swallowed in the general element again. Balmy sunny islets, islets of the blest and the intelligible—on which occasions those secondary humming groups would all cease humming, and hang breathless upon the eloquent words; till once your islet got wrapt in the mist again, and they could recommence humming. Eloquent artistically expressive words you always had; piercing radiances of a most subtle insight came at intervals; tones of noble pious sympathy, recognisable as pious though strangely coloured, were never wanting long; but in general you could not call this aimless, cloud-capt, cloud-based, lawlessly meandering human discourse of reason by the name of 'excellent talk,' but only of 'surprising;' and were reminded bitterly of Hazlitt's account of it: 'Excellent talker, very, if you let him start from no premises and come to no conclusion.' Coleridge was not without what talkers call wit, and there were touches of prickly sarcasm in him, contemptuous enough of the world and its idols and popular dignitaries; he had traits even of poetic humour: but in general he seemed deficient in laughter; or indeed in sympathy for concrete human things either on the sunny or on the stormy side. One right peal of concrete laughter at some convicted flesh-and-blood absurdity, one burst of noble indignation at some injustice or depravity, rubbing elbows with us on this solid Earth, how strange would it have been in that Kantean haze-world, and how infinitely cheering amid its vacant air-castles and dim-melting ghosts and shadows! None such ever came. His life had been an abstract thinking and dreaming, idealistic, passed amid the ghosts of defunct bodies and of unborn ones. The moaning sing-song of that theosophico-metaphysical monotony left on you, at last, a very dreary feeling.

"In close colloquy flowing within narrower banks, I suppose he was more definite and apprehensible; Sterling in after times did not complain of his unintelligibility, or imputed it only to the abstruse high nature of the topics handled. Let us hope so, let us try to believe so! There is no doubt but Coleridge could speak plain words on things plain: his observations and responses on the trivial matters that occurred were as simple as the commonest man's, or were even distinguished by superior simplicity as well as pertinency. 'Ah, your tea is too cold, Mr. Coleridge!' mourned the good Mrs. Gilman once, in her kind, reverential, and yet protective manner, handing him a very tolerable though belated cup. 'It's better than I deserve!' snuffled he, in a low hoarse murmur, partly courteous, chiefly pious, the tone of which still abides with me: 'It's better than I deserve!'

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"The truth is, I now see, Coleridge's talk and speculation was the emblem of himself: in it as in him, a ray of heavenly inspiration struggled, in a tragically ineffectual degree; with the weakness of flesh and blood. He says once, he had skirted the howling deserts of Infidelity: this was evident enough: but he had not had the courage, in defiance of pain and terror, to press resolutely across said deserts to the new firm lands of Faith beyond; he preferred to create logical fatamorganas for himself on this hither side, and laboriously solace himself with these.

"To the man himself Nature had given, in high measure, the seeds of a noble endowment: and to unfold it had been forbidden him. A subtle lynx-eyed intellect, tremulous pious sensibility to all good and all beautiful; truly a ray of empyrean light—but imbedded in such weak laxity of character, in such indolences and esuriences, as had made strange work with it. Once more, the tragic story of a high endowment with an insufficient will."—*Carlyle's Life of Sterling.*

MADAME DE STAEL.

Madame de Staël, daughter of M. Necker, a precocious genius, nurtured in the saloon of her father by reading and by the conversation of the orators, philosophers, and poets of the eighteenth century, had inhaled the Revolution even in her cradle. A daughter of Helvetia, transplanted into courts, her soul and her style participated in this double origin. She was republican in imagination, and an aristocrat in manners, partaking of the nature of Rousseau and Mirabeau, fanciful as the one, and eloquent as the other. Her real party in politics was that of the Girondists. Greater in talent and more generous in soul than Madame Roland, she may be compared to an illustrious man with the passions of a woman. But these passions, powerful and tender, imparted to her talent the qualities of her soul, the accent, the warmth, and the heroism of sentiment. Napoleon considered her more dangerous to his tyranny than La Fayette, and had banished her far from Paris. This ostracism had made her house, situated on the shores of the Lake of Geneva, the last focus of liberty. The writings of Madame de Staël, sometimes poetical, sometimes political, although proscribed or mutilated by the police, had aided in diffusing through France and Europe, during the reign of the Empire, the hidden fires of the heart, the enthusiasm of the spirit, the aspirations of liberty, and the holy hatred of brutish stupidity and of servitude. This woman would have been the last of the Romans under the modern Cæsar, who dared not strike, and could not abuse her. Faithful and generous friends of both sexes—Matthew de Montmorency, Madame Recamier, the German philosophers, the poets of Italy, and the liberal statesmen of England—continued attached to her. During the last years of Napoleon's reign, in which his accelerated fall had made him more implacable, Madame de Staël had fled to the North, where she roused the insurrection of courts and of people against the oppressor of the human mind. On his fall she reappeared in Paris, triumphant on the ruins of her enemy. The armed world had avenged her without wishing for it. She herself desired that this victory of nations over conquest should also be the victory of liberty over despotism. Matured by years and by the experience of human affairs, she had lost the ruggedness of those republican ideas which had inflamed her youth in 1791 and 1792. She had benevolent reminiscences for the Bourbons; and she formed the highest expectations from a Restoration, tested, as it had been, by the scaffold and by exile, and which around the throne would reconcile representative liberty with the traditions of national feeling. Her saloon at Paris was one of the geniuses of the Restoration. Her eloquence converted the old republicans, the young liberals, and the souls that were wavering, to a constitutional system, copied from that of England, which would give independence to opinions, a scope to parliamentary eloquence, and consign the government to intellect. Louis XVIII., by the elevation of his mind, by his literary taste, and by the grace of his admiration for her, consoled her for the disdain and the brutalities of Napoleon. He treated Madame de Staël as an ally of his crown, because she was the representative of European opinion.

She was then as happy in her heart as she was glorious in her genius. She had two children: a son who did not display the eclat of his mother, but who promised to have all the solid and modest qualities of a patriot and a good man: and also a daughter, since married to the Duke de Broglie, who resembled the purest and most beautiful thought of her mother, incarnate in an angelic form, to elevate the mind to heaven, and to represent holiness in beauty. While scarcely yet in the middle age of life, and blooming with that second youth which renews the imagination, that essence of love, Madame de Staël had married the dearest idol of her sensibility. She loved, and she was beloved. She prepared herself to publish her "Considerations on the Revolution," which she had so closely observed, and the personal and impassioned narrative of her "Ten Years of Exile." Finally, a book on the genius of Germany (in which she had poured out, and, as it were, filtered drop by drop all the springs of her soul, of her imagination, and of her religion) appeared at the same time in France and England, and excited the attention of all Europe. Her style, especially in the work on Germany, without lacking the splendour of her youth, seemed to be imbued with lights more lofty and eternal, in approaching the evening of life and the mysterious shrine of thought. It was no longer painting, nor merely poetry: it was perfect adoration; the incense of a soul was inhaled from its pages: it was "Corrine" become a priestess, and catching a glimpse from the verge of life of the unknown Deity, in the remotest horizon of humanity. About this period she died in Paris, leaving a bright resplendence in the heart of her age. She was the Jean-Jacques Rousseau of women, but more tender, more sensitive, and more capable of great actions than he was; a genius of two sexes, one for thought, and one for love; the most impassioned of women and the most masculine of writers in the same being. Her name will live as long as the literature and history of her country.—*Restoration of Monarchy in France, by A. De Lamartine.*

POLICY OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

"She thoroughly understands, what no other Church has ever understood, how to deal with enthusiasts. In some sects, particularly in infant sects, enthusiasm is suffered to be rampant. In other sects, particularly in sects long established and richly endowed, it is regarded with aversion. The Catholic Church neither submits to enthusiasm nor proscribes it, but uses it. She considers it as a great moving force which in itself, like the muscular power of a fine horse, is neither good nor evil, but which may be so directed at to produce great good or great evil; and she assumes the direction to herself. It would be absurd to run down a horse like a wolf. It would be still more absurd to let him run wild, breaking fences, and trampling down passengers. The rational course is to subjugate his will without impairing his vigour, to teach him to obey the rein and then to urge him to full speed. When once he knows his master, he is valuable in proportion to his strength and spirit. Just such has been the system of the Church of Rome with regard to enthusiasts. She knows that, when religious feelings have obtained the complete empire of the mind, they impart a strange energy, that they raise men above the dominion of pain and pleasure, that obloquy becomes glory, that death itself is contemplated only as the beginning of a higher and happier life. She knows that a person in this state is no object of contempt. He may be vulgar, ignorant, visionary, extravagant; but he will do and suffer things which it is for her interest that somebody should do and suffer, yet from which calm and sober-minded men would shrink. She accordingly enlists him in her service, assigns to him some forlorn hope, in which intrepidity and impetuosity are more wanted than judgment and self-command, and sends him forth with her benedictions and her applause.

"In England it not unfrequently happens that a tinker or coal heaver hears a sermon or falls in with a tract which alarms him about the state of his soul. If he be a man of excitable nerves and strong imagination, he thinks himself given over to the Evil Power. He doubts whether he has not committed the unpardonable sin. He imputes every wild fancy that springs up in his mind to the whisper of a fiend. His sleep is broken by dreams of the great judgment-seat, the open books, and the unquenchable fire. If, in order to escape from these vexing thoughts, he flies to amusement or to licentious indulgence, the delusive relief only makes his misery darker and more hopeless. At length a turn takes place. He is reconciled to his offended Maker. To borrow the fine imagery of one who had himself been thus tried, he emerges from the Valley of the Shadow of Death, from the dark land of gins and snares, of quagmires and precipices, of evil spirits and ravenous beasts. The sunshine is on his path. He ascends the Delectable Mountains, and catches from their summit a distant view of the shining city which is the end of his pilgrimage. Then arises in his mind a natural and surely not a censurable desire, to impart to others the thoughts of which his own heart is full, to warn the careless, to comfort those who are troubled in spirit. The impulse which urges him to devote his whole life to the teaching of religion is a strong passion in the guise of a duty. He exhorts his neighbours; and, if he be a man of strong parts, he often does so with great effect. He pleads as if he were pleading for his life, with tears, and pathetic gestures, and burning words; and he soon finds with delight, not perhaps wholly unmixed with the alloy of human infirmity, that his rude eloquence rouses and melts hearers who sleep very composedly while the rector preaches on the apostolical succession. Zeal for God, love for his fellow-creatures, pleasure in the exercise of his newly discovered powers, impel him to become a preacher. He has no quarrel with the Establishment, no objection to its formularies, its government, or its vestments. He would gladly be admitted among its humblest ministers. But, admitted or rejected, he feels that his vocation is determined. His orders have come down to him, not through a long and doubtful series of Arian and Popish bishops, but direct from on high. His commission is the same that on the Mountain of Ascension was given to the Eleven. Nor will he, for lack of human credentials, spare to deliver the glorious message with which he is charged by the true Head of the Church. For a man thus minded, there is within the pale of the Establishment no place. He has been at no college: he cannot construe a Greek author or write a Latin theme: and he is told that, if he remains in the communion of the Church, he must do so as a hearer. and that, if he is resolved to be a teacher, he must begin by being a schismatic. His choice is soon made. He harangues on Tower-Hill or in Smithfield. A congregation is formed. A license is obtained. A plain brick building, with a desk and benches, is run up, and named Ebenezer or Bethel. In a few weeks the Church has lost forever a hundred families, not one of which entertained the least scruple about her articles, her liturgy, her government, or her ceremonies.

"Far different is the policy of Rome. The ignorant enthusiast whom the Anglican Church makes an enemy, and whatever the polite and learned may think, a most dangerous enemy, the Catholic Church makes a champion. She bids him nurse his beard, covers him with a gown and hood of coarse dark stuff, ties a rope round his waist, and sends him forth to teach in her name. He costs her nothing. He takes not a ducat away from the revenues of her beneficed clergy. He lives by the alms of those who respect his spiritual character, and are grateful for his instructions. He preaches, not exactly in the style of Massillon, but in a way which moves the passions of uneducated hearers; and all his influence is employed to strengthen the Church of which he is a minister. To that Church he becomes as strongly attached as any of the cardinals whose scarlet carriages crowd the entrance of the palace on the Quirinal. In this way the Church of Rome unites in herself all the strength of establishment, and all the strength of dissent. With the utmost pomp of a dominant hierarchy above, she has all the energy of the voluntary system below. It would be easy to mention very recent instances in which the hearts of hundreds of thousands, estranged from her by the selfishness, sloth, and cowardice of the beneficed clergy, have been brought back by the zeal of the begging friars.

"Even for female agency there is a place in her system. To devout women she assigns spiritual functions, dignitaries, and magistracies. In our country, if a noble lady is moved by more than ordinary zeal for the propagation of religion, the chance is that, though she may disapprove of no doctrine or ceremony of the Established Church, she will end by giving her name to a new schism. If a pious and benevolent woman enters the cells of a prison to pray with the most unhappy and degraded of her own sex, she does so without any authority from the Church. No line of action is traced out for her; and it is well if the Ordinary does not complain of her intrusion, and if the Bishop does not shake his head at such irregular benevolence. At Rome, the Countess of Huntingdon would have a place in the calendar as St Selina, and Mrs. Fry would be foundress and first Superior of the Blessed Order of Sisters of the Gaols.

"Place Ignatius Loyola at Oxford. He is certain to become the head of a formidable secession. Place John Wesley at Rome. He is certain to be the first General of a new society devoted to the interests and honour of the Church. Place St. Theresa in London. Her restless enthusiasm ferments into madness, not untinctured with craft. She becomes the prophetess, the mother of the faithful, holds disputations with the devil, issues sealed pardons to her adorers, and lies in of the Shiloh. Place Joanna Southcote at Rome. She found an order of barefooted Carmelites, every one of whom is ready to suffer martyrdom for the Church; a solemn service is consecrated to her memory; and her statue, placed over the holy water, strikes the eye of every stranger who enters St. Peters."—*T. B. Macaulay in 'The Traveller's Library.'*

LITERARY THEFT—JUDGE HALIBURTON'S BOOK—LETTER FROM MR. HILDRETH.—The following letter (says the *New York Times*) from the author of the new "History of the United States," recently published by the Harpers, in five octavo volumes, calls public attention to a singular appropriation of his pages by Judge Haliburton, the well-known "Sam Slick, the Yankee Clockmaker:"

BOSTON, Thursday, Oct. 23, 1851.

Messrs. HARPER & BROTHERS: Looking into Judge Halliburton's "Rule and Misrule of the British in America," just republished by you, I find that the author has taken rather singular liberties with the first and second volumes of my lately published "History of the United States." From his having referred a few times to my book, or rather to me, at the bottom of his page, and once or twice expressly quoted from me in his text, one would be led to suppose that he had never borrowed my language, or even relied upon my pages for facts, without giving me credit for it. This is very far from being the case. Not only is his general narrative, apart from his argument, inferences, and reflections, mainly borrowed from my volumes, with occasional enlargements from other sources, but I strongly suspect that he is greatly indebted to me for the leading idea of his book, which is very fully developed in mine, the idea that the existing institutions of the United States have been mainly derived from, and are the natural growth of those of colonial times. But as facts and ideas have no ear-marks, as the lawyers say, it is difficult to maintain any claim of special property in them; nor should I have thought of complaining, had not the Judge gone still further, repeatedly borrowing not only sentences and paragraphs, but *whole pages* from my history, with the alteration of hardly a single word, and without the slightest intimation that the composition was not his own.

An author dead, buried and forgotten, might, perhaps, deem it a privilege to be permitted to speak again under a new